

REC-7

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 9/20/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY, SEPTEMBER, 1966."

The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was contained in notes prepared by CG 5824-S* and transmitted via CG 6653-S who furnished them to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE on 9/19/66.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared in Washington, D.C.

The discussion which formed the basis for this letterhead memorandum took place in Budapest, Hungary, on 9/10/66. Participating in the discussion in addition to GUS HALL were ZOLTAN KOMOCSIN, a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and FRIGYES PUJA, Head of the International Department, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; ARNOLD JOHNSON, member of the National Board and Public Relations Director, CP, USA; and, CG 5824-S*.

③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
2-Chicago
(1 - A) 134-46 Sub B-101
WAB:MDW

ENC 101

REC-38

6 OCT 4 1966

(6)

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per *[Signature]*

OCT 18 1966

10-17-66

CG 134-46 Sub B

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

As you know, on past Solo Missions, the information from CG 5824-S* is furnished to us orally by him based upon the notes he has been able to make during the course of the mission. These notes, of necessity, are quite sketchy. Nevertheless, it is obvious that CG 5824-S* desired that the information he has obtained thus far be furnished to the Bureau at the earliest possible date so that the information will still be timely. Thus, he availed himself of the opportunity presented by the return of his wife to carry these notes home. Therefore, the information set forth herein actually constitutes a reconstruction from CG 5824-S*'s notes which do not form a complete narrative. We have endeavored to extract from these notes only that information in whose reconstruction we can feel some degree of confidence. Nevertheless, lacking contact with the source at this time and since CG 6653-S did not participate in any of these contacts and thus cannot corroborate this information, we cannot absolutely guarantee the accuracy of our reconstruction. Upon the return of CG 5824-S*, he will review this information for any changes or corrections, and the Bureau will be advised.

In addition to the caveat set forth above, we also have grave reservations from a security standpoint relative to dissemination of this information at this time. None of the participants in this discussion have returned to the U.S. as yet and, if past practice is any guide, the only participant to take notes was CG 5824-S*. Of those who would have possible access to this information, only ELIZABETH HALL and CG 6653-S have returned; therefore, the source of this information is confined to a rather narrow field. Of even greater importance, CG 5824-S* is still behind the Iron Curtain and a lapse of security at this point would place his life in serious jeopardy. We realize that we are suggesting severe limitations on the use of this information at this time, but it can perhaps be of value both within the Bureau and in a tightly restricted dissemination only at the highest level.

Pertinent information contained herein will be disseminated under individual caption, suitably paraphrased, and with appropriate cautionary statements.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D.C.
September 30, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST
PARTY, USA, AND MEMBERS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HUNGARIAN
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, BUDAPEST,
HUNGARY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

During September, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

In mid September, 1966, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party (CP) ~~of the Soviet Union~~, as part of a tour of socialist countries, visited the Peoples Republic of Hungary. On September 10, 1966, while in Budapest, Hungary, Hall met with members of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. Representing the Hungarians were Zoltan Komocsin, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; and Frigyes Puja, head of the International Department, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. Komocsin began the meeting by outlining the areas he would cover in his briefing of Hall concerning Hungary. These general areas were as follows:

Hung.

1. Information concerning Hungary
2. History of the socialist revolution and the counter-revolution of 1956
3. Hungarian international relations
4. Current situation in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5801

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST
PARTY, USA, AND MEMBERS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HUNGARIAN
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, BUDAPEST,
HUNGARY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

Following this, Komocsin continued in essence as follows:

The area of the Peoples Republic of Hungary is 93,000 square kilometers and it has a population of ten million people. Our productive forces were 100 years behind the West European countries up until 1945. You must remember that we had a 400-year fight for national independence. Hungary is poor in raw material except for bauxite. A feudal form of Fascism reigned in Hungary before 1945 for 25 years. Just 50 families controlled the banks, the industry and the land. Then during World War II, our material losses were equal to five years' income during the time of the Miklos Horthy regime. Now we have to continue our buildup of armaments for the defense of our country.

Our national income has trebled and our industrial production is up to six times our pre-war production. 98.6 percent of the country's industry is in the hands of the state. Our agricultural production is one and one half times the pre-war level and 98 percent of our agriculture is socialized.

We recognize our limitations however. For example, our production of electrical energy per capita is two times what it was before, but in the United States electrical energy is five and one half times ours. Our average agricultural worker feeds seven people. The average agricultural worker feeds twice that many in Western Europe and four times that number in the United States.

But we have made advances also. In pre-war Hungary tuberculosis was the national disease and this is no longer true. Our standards of living are now higher and the means

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HUNGARIAN
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, BUDAPEST,
HUNGARY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

of existence are guaranteed for all under our Social Security measures. We have 19 doctors per 10,000 population; in Western Europe there are 14 doctors per 10,000. We have 67 university students for each 10,000 population; in Western Europe there are 40; in the United States there are 100. Three and one half to four million people in Hungary watch television daily. The average daily caloric intake is 3,100 calories which is the same as in the United States; in Europe it is 2,500 to 2,900. The average wage for a worker in heavy industry and the building trades is 1,800 forints per month; in light industry - 1,700 forints per month; and for those in services - 1,500 forints per month. 25 percent of a worker's income is represented in Social Security measures. Our prices are 30 to 40 percent higher in comparison with western capitalistic countries. A Hungarian family with one wage earner and a number of children has a tough time. In addition, the available housing is insufficient and our estimate is that it will take 15 years to catch up with the demand.

Hungary is a socialist state in transition, but socialist consciousness lags. This is an ideological problem even in the Party. In the days when the class struggle was sharp and clear the people understood, but this is not so now. It requires a constant ideological struggle. Even in 1956 to 1958 it was also a clear and open struggle. But now Communism must raise the productive level, reduce costs, do community work, etc. The question is raised: "What kind of class struggle is this?" This question is even raised within the Party.

The Hungarian working class is now four times the size it was before World War II. The best of our people are

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST
PARTY, USA, AND MEMBERS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HUNGARIAN
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, BUDAPEST,
HUNGARY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

put into the government, into the army and into the industrial leadership. In the field of agriculture, this was socialized in 1961 but the mentality is still like it was in 1960. Although we can say that the intelligentsia serves socialism, nevertheless in their mental outlook, ideologically they are still in the past. Our youngsters are being educated by these old people. While the curricula and the text books are permeated with Marxism-Leninism, at the same time the teachers have the power to interpret these texts. You know, it is a far more difficult task to develop a socialist man than to take over the industry.

Also problems originating in the new socialist reality arise. Socialism is founded upon the consciousness of the working class but we have a party of only one half million. Thus, among a population of ten million the influence of the petty bourgeoisie is still strong.

We can wage this struggle only if material interests are met. This was taught to us by Lenin. However, those under petty bourgeois influence want material aid. They do not work; they cheat; they speculate; and they engage in thievery. These petty bourgeoisie distort our socialist principles and abuse our democracy. But if we attack them and expose them, they shout that we are "reviving Stalinism."

We wage the ideological struggle on two points: 1) against dogmatism and sectarianism; and 2) against revisionism. We have defeated these deviations, but the people who represent these deviations are still here. Within the CP the main deviation is dogmatism-sectarianism. Outside the Party the main deviation is conservatism-revisionism.

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
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PARTY, USA, AND MEMBERS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HUNGARIAN
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, BUDAPEST,
HUNGARY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

Within the Party some people still think that the best method is the use of the "whip." They say we should command and be tough. This is what we saw enough of in the 1950s. Since then the Party has developed a closeness to the human being. The dogmatists oppose this policy and call it petty bourgeois rot. They say that we should hit hard at the laggards, etc.

In regard to those holding revisionist tendencies, they want to dissolve the Party and dissolve the dictatorship of the proletariat. They would like to change our relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They would like to return to a state of affairs that does not exist even in bourgeois countries.

We have certain problems arising from questions of nationalism, patriotism and the nature of our relations with the Soviet Union. It is a difficult matter to develop a true socialist patriotism. Some even say that if we refer to our gains in industrial or agricultural production, this can become nationalism. It is a very difficult task. Our greatest problem is nationalism and a certain anti-Soviet feeling which can be traced back to the time of the Horthy Fascist regime. These nationalists want to revise the frontiers of our country, to reclaim old territories which other countries have taken, such as Transylvania taken by Rumania. Old anti-Soviet feelings remain and yet arise from present realities. This influences our present generation also.

In regard to the influence of religion, we can say that the relations between the state and the church are now normal. Religion is losing ground among the people as a

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SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, BUDAPEST,
HUNGARY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

result of scientific and social advances. But this is a slow development. The funny thing is that people go to Mass and at the same time come to Party meetings.

The question of ideology is a problem. The philosophy of the bourgeoisie is constantly trying to make inroads. However we guard our socialist ideology carefully and our ideology will stand comparison and the challenge of the bourgeois ideology. But the ideology of the enemy does affect many strata of our society. There is evidence of some infection by the ideas of cosmopolitanism, individualism, and worship of the West. We have seen a growing number of defections to the West. Three hundred thousand Hungarians go abroad each year and one million tourists and visitors come into our country each year. Five million Hungarians live abroad. So there are correspondence and contact and broadcasts by which knowledge of the West comes to our people. Daily ideological work is needed to counteract this situation. Ideological means are the only way to combat defections, etc. Inside the Party there are voices who say that we should issue no passports, should allow no foreign travel, should allow no visitors to our country etc. but we say that this approach is wrong and we have fought against this philosophy.

In regard to the situation in the international movement, this has caused us a lot of worry and anxiety. We fear the possibilities of war and we grieve because of the split in the international communist movement. We are afraid that the imperialists may miscalculate or that the Chinese might release some madness. We find it difficult to defend the position of the Communist Party of China and yet at the same time we disagree with the position of the

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HUNGARY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

Communist Party of Italy. There are some questions which we cannot answer, such as why the Chinese behave in the way they do, and why their display of anti-Sovietism. We try to fight against these problems as best we can.

In regard to the question of youth, we are satisfied with youth as a whole. But the truth is that all the problems that arise among youth in other socialist countries arise here also. One problem is that the text books speak of socialism in more colorful terms than reality merits. Our schools are okay ideologically but the children may be exposed to a family life that counters the ideology of the school. There is a mistrust of the youth by the older generation and vice versa. Some things remind us of the problems of youth in western countries, that is the indifference and cynicism exhibited by some youth.

In response to some probing questions by Gus Hall who characterized the area of youth as the greatest defect of the socialist society, Komocsin turned again to a discussion of ideology and bureaucracy. He continued in essence as follows:

The policies of Hungary from 1945 to 1949 were in general correct. Matyas Rakosi also played a positive role. But from 1945 to 1953 the situation worsened. Before that there had been great confidence in the Party and heroism among the people. You cannot separate these early achievements from the present. But the Party leadership had become separated from the masses and this in part may explain Rakosi's behavior. He was a victim of prison life and the aging process. He became suspicious of all who were in the Party and in the revolution in the past, especially of those abroad. His despotism resulted in trials and mass terror.

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST
PARTY, USA; AND MEMBERS OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HUNGARIAN
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, BUDAPEST,
HUNGARY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

In his efforts to build Hungarian industry, he tried to duplicate the model of the Soviet Union despite the lack of raw materials and our poverty. His trials and grandiose plans resulted in the destruction of our cadres. It was like the Chinese "cultural revolution." Nevertheless in writing the history of Hungary we will give Rakosi his due. However it is too early to excuse Rakosi; he killed as many Communists in Hungary as did Horthy.

In regard to Transylvania it should be noted that there are 1,600,000 Hungarians there while there are only 600,000 Hungarians in Budapest. Actually, the Rumanian Communist Party is carrying through a correct national policy in this regard but there have been deviations from this policy and they are trying to speed up the processes of the assimilation of the Hungarian population in Transylvania. They defend the discrimination against these Hungarians and are moving these people out and resettling the area with Rumanians. They are also encouraging anti-Soviet feelings. We have found that we cannot talk to the Rumanians about this because we have found them to be very sensitive and irritable on this subject.

This ended the briefing of Gus Hall by the members of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~REC-7~~ ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 9/30/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "HELGA LOHR, 'THE WORKER' CORRESPONDENT, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC."

MRS GEORGE LOHR

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was contained in notes prepared by CG 5824-S* and transmitted via CG 6653-S who furnished them to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE on 9/19/66.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared in Washington, D. C.

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum is the result of conversations on 9/8/66 between CG 5824-S* and HEINZ BIRCH, the individual in the International Department, Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), who is responsible for relations with the CP, USA. The decision to relieve HELGA LOHR of her position with "The Worker" was reached through consultation by CG 5824-S* with GUS HALL and ARNOLD JOHNSON on the same date. Later, on the same day, BIRCH was advised of the decision of the CP, USA.

- 100-428091-5802
③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

NAB:MDW

(5)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CG 134-46 Sub B

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

As you know, on past Solo Missions, the information from CG 5824-S* is furnished to us orally by him based upon the notes he has been able to make during the course of the mission. These notes, of necessity, are quite sketchy. Nevertheless, it is obvious that CG 5824-S* desired that the information he has obtained thus far be furnished to the Bureau at the earliest possible date so that the information will still be timely. Thus, he availed himself of the opportunity presented by the return of his wife to carry these notes home. Therefore, the information set forth herein actually constitutes a reconstruction from CG 5824-S*'s notes which do not form a complete narrative. We have endeavored to extract from these notes only that information in whose reconstruction we can feel some degree of confidence. Nevertheless, lacking contact with the source at this time and since CG 6653-S did not participate in any of these contacts and thus cannot corroborate this information, we cannot absolutely guarantee the accuracy of our reconstruction. Upon the return of CG 5824-S*, he will review this information for any changes or corrections, and the Bureau will be advised.

In addition to the caveat set forth above, we also have grave reservations from a security standpoint relative to dissemination of this information at this time. None of the participants in this discussion have returned to the U.S. as yet and, if past practice is any guide, the only participant to take notes was CG 5824-S*. Of those who would have possible access to this information, only ELIZABETH HALL and CG 6653-S have returned; therefore, the source of this information is confined to a rather narrow field. Of even greater importance, CG 5824-S* is still behind the Iron Curtain and a lapse of security at this point would place his life in serious jeopardy. We realize that we are suggesting severe limitations on the use of this information at this time, but it can perhaps be of value both within the Bureau and in a tightly restricted dissemination only at the highest level.

Pertinent information contained therein will be disseminated under individual caption, suitably paraphrased, and with appropriate cautionary statements.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

September 30, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

HELGA LOHR, "THE WORKER" CORRESPONDENT,
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during September, 1966, advised as follows:

It was learned that in early September, 1966, a representative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) registered a complaint with the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), concerning the conduct of Helga Lohr, correspondent in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) for "The Worker," a United States East Coast communist newspaper. Lohr had succeeded her husband, George Lohr, who held this same position until his death in 1964. According to the SUPG, Lohr has been guilty of bad behavior and has been a source of a good deal of trouble to the SUPG resulting in part from excessive drinking at press conferences which was described as "worse than bourgeois correspondents." The SUPG characterized Lohr as "lightheaded" and stated that she displays no political understanding at all. As a result, the SUPG believes that it is not good for Lohr to continue to carry the credentials of "The Worker" and the CP, USA. As her replacement, the SUPG suggested Frieda Kantamovitz (?), a woman of about 55 years of age.

It was later learned that the CP, USA agreed with the suggestions of the SUPG and instructed that Lohr should be dismissed from the position of GDR correspondent for "The Worker."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~Group 1~~

~~excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5802-

REC-7

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 9/30/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

STARK

RYAN

Re New York airtel dated 5/25/66, captioned as above.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) captioned [redacted]

b6
b7C

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was furnished by CG 6653-S on 9/19/66 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE.

To further protect the identity of the source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as being prepared in Washington, D. C.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since the unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In regard to the information in the enclosed LHM, CG 6653-S stated that it had been secured in Moscow, 8/66. She stated that while she did not know the identity of the alleged [redacted] she believed that CG 5824-S* would have more details on this matter.

b6
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- 141 ③ - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)
 1 - Chicago
 RWH/mes
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EX 101

REC-38/00

ST-108

3 OCT 4 1966

Approved: M/1/24

65 OCT 11 1966

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.
September 30, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in September, 1966, advised as follows:

[REDACTED] of New York, New York, [REDACTED] of Lem Harris, a long-time member of the Communist Party, USA, travelled to the Soviet Union in the early part of the summer, 1966, as part of a tour group. Recently it was reported that [REDACTED] citizen of the Soviet Union and had now taken up residence with this individual in Moscow. At the present time the identity of the alleged [REDACTED] is not known.

b6
b7C

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5803

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 9/30/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT, FIRST SECRETARY, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966."

The information in the enclosed LHM was contained in notes prepared by CG 5824-S* and transmitted via CG 6653-S, who furnished them to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN on 9/19/66.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D. C.

The discussion which forms the basis of the LHM took place on 9/8/66 in Berlin, GDR, and CG 5824-S*'s notes indicate that participants were probably WALTER ULBRICHT, First Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; HERMAN AXEN, a candidate member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; ARNOLD JOHNSON, a member of the National Board and Public Relations Director of the Communist Party, USA; and CG 5824-S*.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)
 2 - Chicago
 1 - A) 134-46-99

RWH/mes

(6)

JUN 101

6 OCT 4 1966

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 OCT 1 1966

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 EX-110

REC-2
 EX-110

CG 134-46 Sub B

It should also be noted in connection with this meeting that "Neues Deutschland," the official organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, in its issue of 9/9/66, carried an extensive full page article which relates to the meeting of GUS HALL and WALTER ULBRICHT. In addition, "The Worker" of 9/18/66, Page 3, Columns 4 and 5, carried an article entitled "Hall - Ulbricht Meeting Stresses Solidarity Against U.S. Aggression." It is date lined Berlin and the apparent author is ARNOLD JOHNSON.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

As you know, on past Solo missions, the information from CG 5824-S* is furnished to us orally by him based upon the notes he has been able to make during the course of the mission. In view of the nature of his contacts, these notes, of necessity, are always quite sketchy and oftentimes are not made until after the meeting or contact has been concluded. In this instance, the same circumstances hold true. Nevertheless, it is obvious that CG 5824-S* desired that the information that he has obtained thus far be furnished to the Bureau at the earliest possible date so that the information will still be timely. Thus, he availed himself of the opportunity presented by the return of his wife to carry these notes home. Therefore, the information set forth herein actually constitutes a reconstruction from CG 5824-S*'s notes, which were made by him primarily in nature of reminders for him, rather than a complete narrative. We have endeavored to extract from these notes only that information in the reconstruction of which we can feel some degree of confidence. Nevertheless, lacking contact with the source at this time and since CG 6653-S did not participate in any of these contacts and thus cannot corroborate this information, we cannot absolutely guarantee the accuracy of our interpretations. Upon the return of CG 5824-S*, he will review this information for any changes or corrections and the Bureau will be apprised.

CG 134-46 Sub B

In addition to the caveat set forth above, we also have grave reservations from a security standpoint relative to dissemination of this information at this time. As you know, none of the participants in this discussion has returned to the United States as yet. Furthermore, the only participant to take notes was CG 5824-S*, if past practice is any guide. Of those who would have possible access to this information, only ELIZABETH HALL and CG 6653-S have returned. Therefore, the source of this information is confined to a rather narrow field. Furthermore, CG 5824-S* is still behind the Iron Curtain and a lapse of security at this point would seriously jeopardize his life. We realize that we are suggesting severe limitations on the use of this information at this time but it can perhaps be of value, both within the Bureau and in a tightly restricted dissemination only at the highest level.

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File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.
September 30, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
(CP) USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT,
FIRST SECRETARY, SOCIALIST UNITY
PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during September, 1966, advised as follows:

During September, 1966, Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP USA, who was then making a world tour which had already taken him to a number of socialist as well as capitalist countries, visited the German Democratic Republic (GDR) where he met with Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR. At this time discussions were held and the essence of the remarks made by Ulbricht was as follows:

Welcome. This is a great and important visit for us all especially since U. S. imperialism is also the sponsor of West German imperialism.

Our two parties see eye to eye on all of the important struggles, particularly as it relates to the struggle against imperialism and to the war in Viet Nam. Our two parties are also very closely linked. Your heroic struggle against the war in Viet Nam has been great and has succeeded in discrediting U. S. imperialism in the eyes of the world. In West Germany, the United States is supposed to be the "wonderland of imperialism." The CP USA has destroyed this legend. Similarly the myth about West Germany's economy is also being destroyed.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

100-428091-580
ENCLOSURE

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
(CP) USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT,
FIRST SECRETARY, SOCIALIST UNITY
PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

The decisions which you made at your 18th Party Congress were very important. We have read the draft program for the CP USA and are astonished at its clear Marxist-Leninist line. This draft program of the CP USA has important significance for the entire world working class. In addition, your report to your Congress was clear and impressive and is a weapon in our struggle against imperialism. The problems related to our fight against West German imperialism are the same or similar to yours and we can learn from your analysis of state monopoly capitalism. We are glad to be of assistance in the spreading of your program and policies. It is a help to us in our own fight against U. S. imperialism.

As you were previously aware and have now seen, Germany is a complicated country. One third of its people are building for socialism. The others with the help of the United States, Great Britain and France are imperialist.

When we originally took power we did not immediately raise the question of socialism although we knew that ultimately we would have to destroy the roots of imperialism. When we took power we had the backing of the working class but the situation was still very complicated. There were two parties coming together, each with different ideologies, to run the country. The first phase of our takeover was one during which we used a parliamentary coalition. Our aim was cooperation between the SUPG and the Social Democratic Party. At the time we did not discuss socialism. We both, however, agreed that the goal was socialism but that we would define it only after the bourgeoisie democratic revolution.

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
(CP) USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT,
FIRST SECRETARY, SOCIALIST UNITY
PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

When we came into power we sought and brought about cooperation with the many petty bourgeoisie parties in the country. Many in these petty bourgeoisie parties were middle class peasants who joined with us for various reasons. For example the Christian Democratic Union cooperated with us for humanitarian reasons and because they were against Fascism. The Liberal Democratic Party, which was made up of small and medium capitalists, joined up because they were against the large financial monopolies. The National Democratic Party cooperated with us although it was made up of all kinds of elements. Even some members of this Party were former Nazis who were against Fascism and Hitler.

We formed a block with all of these parties so that we could carry through the necessary bourgeois democratic revolution. Our party, the SUPG, saw to it that these other parties were given some official positions and offices in the government, however, we controlled the economy, finance and police. It was a long process during which time there was a continuous growing together between the SUPG and the Social Democratic Party.

In some instances there was not total agreement between the SUPG and the Social Democratic Party. For example, they initially did not agree with us in regard to the problems of agriculture. We had let the peasants distribute the land and we did not carry this out administratively. The Social Democratic Party was not in agreement with this concept. However, these democratic methods were successful and resulted in unity of the party and of the working class.

After we came into power the factories of the German war criminals which had been monopolies were taken

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
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FIRST SECRETARY, SOCIALIST UNITY
PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

over. This was done following a vote of approval of seventy six percent of the people. I must say, however, that we would have still expropriated these factories if the vote had only been fifty two percent.

In regard to school reform, we had to get rid of all of the Nazis. As a result over sixty five percent of the teachers in our schools were thrown out in the first nine months. Seventy five percent of those who were brought in as replacements were members of the new working class. We took more time in dealing with the universities. First we changed the campus student bodies and then we built special preparatory schools for the workers' children in order to prepare them for their university studies.

Our job in changing over our country was made somewhat easier because of the presence of Soviet troops who could shelter us from some of the outside pressures and interferences; yet when it came to ideology it was more difficult because the minds and the hearts of our people had been poisoned by Hitlerism.

When we first came into power in East Germany, there were over three million Poles and other nationals and it was hard to establish normal relations with them. They all had become citizens. At the time we did not know who in our country were natives or refugees.

When we carried through our democratic revolution and nationalized the factories, we had the basis for socialism. Yet, it was only in 1952 that we first declared that the construction of socialism had begun in our country. We were the last of the socialist states to openly declare that we were building for socialism.

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
(CP) USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT,
FIRST SECRETARY, SOCIALIST UNITY
PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

Why do I tell you all of this? It is because in each country there are different and complicated problems.

It is the United States and West German monopolists who are responsible for the continuing division of Germany. Frankly a united Germany would have been better for us. It would have been a longer struggle but we feel we could have prevented the revival of militarism in West Germany. The division of our country has meant that we had to build socialism with an open frontier. This was very difficult but we are succeeding and building.

As you are well aware, organizing a planned economy for a country is not easy. First of all we had to rebuild the war damage. Then we had to plan. We felt we needed twenty five years in order to carry out a real socialist plan. You realize that the planning of an economy for a nation is more difficult than carrying through a school reform.

We found that the peasants continued to think like private owners and that they learned only step by step in simple cooperatives. It will take decades to make them into scientific farmers. Yet we must remember that previously the peasant had little or no time for government and had been kept busy on the farm. It was only after the introduction of the cooperatives that the peasants began to play a role in government.

We do not deny that many mistakes were made by us. We will tell the communist and capitalist countries alike that there is no one set of ideal conditions or imaginary conditions. We found that you must build in reality. We have found that real changes in education were necessary. Ten years of schooling is now available in the cities and villages. High school is available for

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
(CP) USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT,
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PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

everybody. Because we have made such changes it will be easier to build with these children. We have expended large amounts of money on education particularly vocational, but the benefits will show up from this later.

In some socialist countries they tried to skip certain stages. Some mistakes were also made due to a dogmatic approach, as illustrated by the events of 1955. Some mistakes were also made due to the lack of experience. In some of the socialist countries they talked of "liberalization" but we instead talked of the need to fight dogmatism and did not talk of liberalization which would be bourgeois ideology.

We did not carry through economic measures totally by administrative means. We also utilized science. We realized that not only socialist circumstances were necessary but that we also needed material gains. Socialism, we realized, to be successful must satisfy the needs of the people, therefore the need for material gain.

In the United States you are under constant pressure of the anti-communists and are faced with the need of constantly explaining how to build a socialist society. We believe each country will build socialism in its own way. The general problems may be answered for you but the details are yours to resolve. For example, we did not expropriate the land of the big farmers in Germany. After the cooperatives had been established we permitted the big farmers to join our cooperatives. This was a risk on our part but at the time we realized we had a good working class cadre. As a result we took the big farmers in and utilized their cooperation. Similarly we did not liquidate the small tradesmen in our country nor the store keepers nor the

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
(CP) USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT,
FIRST SECRETARY, SOCIALIST UNITY
PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

small manufacturers. Today these individuals help to build socialism. We won the petty bourgeoisie strata for socialism.

In the past we have told the newly emerging states, take over the big industries but leave the small ones alone and later when the workers are united you can do everything you must. Get rid of the fear amongst the middle classes concerning expropriation. In the GDR the middle class today feels secure. Of course you realize the character of the small industries has changed and they work in cooperation with the state. However, they do not live badly. The new economic system has helped our advances. Yet we feel we need ten years to carry through some real planning. We have no scientific computer center yet.

We must plan ahead in great detail. In education, for example, the details, even as to text books, must be planned for as far ahead as 1980. We have done this. In agriculture we also have to make our plans well in advance. We must talk things over with the peasants. Today there are no problems with the peasants and they are free to leave the cooperatives at any time. Today they believe in our leadership. We do not harp about the past.

However, we cannot risk any games with power. We cannot afford to take the risk of losing. We have the assent of other parties in our country and desire to retain it. Today we operate through a State Council where representatives of the other parties in the country sit in government. They are participating democratically. However, without the help of the trade unions and others, we could not do all of the things we have accomplished. As long as these other parties carry through our general line we are not disturbed by the fact that they do things differently.

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
(CP) USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT,
FIRST SECRETARY, SOCIALIST UNITY
PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

Today one of our biggest problems is the national problem. Our aim is to maintain the status quo and have normal relations with the Bonn government. But our problem rises because the West Germans try to "speak" for all Germans. We publicly compare the two systems in such areas as economics, education, etc. We show up the differences in all fields. Our national policy is one of class politics. On this point we cannot reach agreement with the West German monopolists. We are for peaceful co-existence. They must stop their revenge-ism and aggressive action.

The unification of our country depends on reaching an understanding of the working class in both Germanys. This is the reason we try to talk to the Social Democrats of West Germany as well as trade union people there. The trade unions are the main force in West Germany.

For your information we have recently written a very good pamphlet dealing with the first twenty years of the SUPG.

Also for your information and so that you might be aware, next year the SUPG will hold its Party Congress.

Now on the international movement and on world events. We feel the Chinese present the greatest danger to our movement at this moment. They are discrediting socialism and destroying socialist ideological roots by such things as their "cultural revolution." There is no proletarian in the CP of China leadership. They seek to solve the problems of China on the basis of nationalism and the military. They are using administrative means to carry through their program. They are seeking to bring socialism about by the 8th Route Army method.

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
(CP) USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT,
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PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

We are also somewhat worried about the position that the Cuban Party has taken particularly as it regards "armed revolts." We are also disturbed by their impatience.

Then too in some parties there are certain revisionist tendencies. I believe we can safely say that these are showing up among the Communist Parties in Italy, Sweden and Austria for example.

In our opinion the Comintern had both positive and negative features. We similarly feel that no one can say that only Stalin made mistakes or that he made all the mistakes. To reason as such would not be a correct a historic process. However, now the Rumanians say the Comintern was all a mistake. We think they are wrong.

Between our two parties I do not know of any existing problems.

Although the leaders of the Social Democrats in West Germany have adapted themselves to the policies of the capitalists, we are trying to get closer to them. We are seeking to influence the working class and certain sections of the intelligentsia there. But we have found that many of these Social Democrat workers are also influenced by the bourgeoisie despite their outward militancy on economic questions. In regard to our relations with the trade union movement in West Germany we do not mix into their problems. We do carry on propaganda campaigns for better conditions and hope to develop a deeper class consciousness amongst the working class in West Germany.

I agree with you, Comrade Hall, that the political struggle against U. S. imperialism has been insufficient. The

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY
(CP) USA, AND WALTER ULBRICHT,
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PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

situation in the world Marxist-Leninist movement is related to this. The struggle to overcome dogmatism has been used by the enemy against the Communist Parties. Because certain of the Communist Parties look for mistakes in other parties and not in their own, they do not fight imperialism. We need to establish a policy that would spread the Marxist-Leninist parties influence and action all over the world. We need to spread our experiences. Right now we are only spreading our mistakes. We are conscious of this and are looking for some way to remedy this situation.

At the moment we are in the process of preparing a conference of European parties, this will be a regional meeting. We should go to such a meeting as Marxist-Leninists and not as diplomats. However, I am sure that because of the Communist Party of China and events in China we will be forced to discuss political and ideological problems even though the topic of the meeting is to deal with the question as to how does state monopoly capitalism affect society.

Today in this world we cannot approach problems as of old. We must support the working class demands against monopoly.

On the question of the establishment of a news media for the exchange of information, photographs, etc. dealing with the international Marxist-Leninist movement, we feel this might be a good idea. We accept your proposition and will examine it.

We also agree with your suggestion, Comrade Hall, that we need new methods of work against U. S. imperialism's psychological war. Against West German imperialism we are using new methods and specialists. We must seek to expose the pseudo-democratic mask of U. S. imperialism and also expose the barbarous practices of U. S. imperialism.

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL,
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PARTY OF GERMANY, SEPTEMBER, 1966

In regard to youth, we also face this problem in socialist countries. Our youth today have never been involved in a class struggle and have no revolutionary background. But we have confidence in our youth and tell them to go ahead and do what they desire but do it from a class point of view. For us, the youth are not as big a problem particularly from an ideological point of view. In West Germany, however, the youth are a problem. Today we are, however, attempting establishing a new policy of our political bureau in regard to youth.

I also agree, Comrade Hall, that it would be a good idea to perhaps hold a world conference of youth. Those youth who desire to come may do so.

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F B I

Date: 9/28/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 9/28/66 there was received from Moscow, via radio, a ciphered-partially coded message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"To JACK CHILDS

"Report to HENRY WINSTON: GUS HALL and others go to Bulgaria, Rumania and Mongolia. We give careful consideration to the question regarding ALEX TRACHTENBERG. Notify HELEN that there is no necessity of sending delegation for November. Did wife of CG 5824-S* arrive well? CG 5824-S* is all right. GUS HALL and JOHNSON will be in Paris on October 12. Immediately send here political documents and materials for public speeches. Send by airmail Political Affairs and other documents to address of professor as before.

"CG 5824-S*"

Re above message, see NY airtel 9/21/66.

Re above, "HELEN" is a reference to CP functionary HELEN WINTER. "Professor" mentioned in last paragraph is a reference to a drop in Moscow to which documents are to be sent.

The Chicago Office was telephonically advised regarding the above message and advised that the documents and speech material mentioned would be transmitted to CG 5824-S* by _____

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb (7)

Approved: _____

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Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

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Per _____

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100-428091-5805

6 OCT 4 1966

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(IS) 100-428091

1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw
BY LIAISON

Date: September 28, 1966

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA

*NO 9.5 (B) 9.29.66
slow 9-29-66 WRM*

SEP 28 9 58 AM '66
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FBI

The following information, provided by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past, is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Beatrice Johnson, the Havana, Cuba, correspondent of "The Worker," east coast communist newspaper, has confidentially advised the Communist Party, USA, that Cuban Premier Fidel Castro is once again coming under the influence of "reckless ones." Johnson noted that Castro has insulted most of the communist parties in Latin America and complained at a recent trade-union meeting that he is being criticized by everyone. She mentioned that Fidel Castro's brother, Raul Castro, had tried in vain to induce his brother to take a more reasonable approach. According to Johnson, all former members of the Cuban communist party, Partido Socialista Popular, have been shifted from positions of authority within the Cuban Government to more or less ornamental positions.

Because of the sensitive nature of the source which furnished this information, this communication is classified "~~Top Secret~~."

1 - Director BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

REC 40 100-428091-5806

✓ WE 57
OCT 4 1966

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WGS:dmk
(7) *dmk*

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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

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1966
OCT 6 1966
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (NY 694-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Information in outgoing extracted from New York airtel 9/23/66, captioned "Solo, IS-C"

~~TOP SECRET~~

SAC, Washington Field

October 3, 1966

Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
IS - CREGISTERED MAIL

Enclosed is certain foreign language material:

One issue of NEPSZABODSAY dated 9/13/66 and one issue of MAGYAR NEMZET dated 9/13/66, both in Hungarian, as described in airtel from Chicago dated 9/28/66, copy of which is attached.

This material should be processed as indicated below:

As requested by Chicago.

Following disposition should be made of enclosure and translation:

Both to Chicago. Copy of the translation to New York and the Bureau, attention FBI Annex.

If the results of your review are not furnished the Seat of Government, in accordance with instructions set forth above, then the office initiating the request, to which translation is made available by you, has the responsibility of appropriately notifying the Bureau of any pertinent information contained therein.

Enc. - 3

- 1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B)
1 - New York (100-134637)

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100-428091-
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19 OCT 4 1966

~~SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Wannall

October 4, 1966

DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
OFFICIALS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION,
LATE SUMMER, 1966

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

The following information was supplied by sources
which have furnished reliable information in the past.

During the late Summer of 1966, Gus Hall, General
Secretary, Communist Party, USA, traveled to the Soviet Union
and to a number of other European countries. While in the
Soviet Union during the course of this trip, Hall engaged in
discussions with officials of the Central Committee, Communist
Party of the Soviet Union. The essence of these discussions
was as follows:

Hall said he would like to point out some political
and ideological problems relating to the international com-
munist movement. He cited the basic problem as the failure
of the various communist parties to act and speak as a "world
communist movement." He noted that each Party is immersed in
its own problems and does not show a proper concern for world
problems. As an example, Hall mentioned that when he attended
the recent Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay, he
talked to leaders of many communist parties. During these
talks, Hall stated, he was informed that the Latin-American
parties have a problem with Cuban interference in their inter-
nal affairs. Cuban interference in Venezuela was cited as
being actually criminal, in that the Cubans were in contact
with many undesirable elements, including "splitters." Hall
noted that the general feeling is "let these parties settle
things by themselves." He also noted that, during his trip,
he discovered that only a few parties are aware of the struggles
of the Communist Party, USA, in the field of civil rights and
other matters. Hall further noted that, until he visited
Finland, he was ignorant of the problems being faced by the
party in that country and was at the mercy of stories appearing
in the capitalistic press. Hall said there is an urgent need

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SEE NOTE PAGE FOUR

OCT 6 1966

Delivered to Mildred Stegall
on 10-9-66 by routing slip.

56 OCT 11 1966

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~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

**DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
OFFICIALS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION,
LATE SUMMER, 1966**

for a world communist news agency. He noted that such a news agency would improve the unity of the world communist movement and give it a sense of oneness.

Hall complained that he had received the impression during his trip that communist parties in many countries are working among youth in the same manner as was done in the 1930's. Hall explained that this is an entirely new generation -- the youth of the nuclear age. In that connection, Hall noted that it took an internal fight within the Communist Party, USA, before all were convinced of the need for a new youth organization.

Hall stated that the final problem he desired to raise was that of the struggle against United States imperialism, especially in Vietnam. He complained that the International Days of Protest on August 6, 1966, was weak on a world scale. He also complained that, although there were widespread demonstrations, they were not always a part of the over-all struggle against United States imperialism in Vietnam. Hall indicated that, during his trip, he had ascertained that the various communist parties do not understand the political vulnerability of United States imperialism. He mentioned that in several countries he raised the question of why no resentment had been built up against United States imperialist aggression in Vietnam, as was done against Hitler in the 1930's. Hall stated he learned that this is because the parties look after their own interests. He cited this as an example of the urgent need to strengthen the world communist movement.

Following this presentation by Hall, the discussions were carried on by the Soviet officials, the essence of their remarks was as follows:

The Soviet officials agreed that Hall had raised some very serious problems. However, they pointed out that the main problem of the world communist movement at the present time is the "splitting role" of the Communist Party of China. The Soviet officials agreed that, on the question of interna-

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**DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
OFFICIALS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION,
LATE SUMMER, 1966**

tionalism, many parties tend to occupy themselves with their own problems. However, they noted that at the present time it is impossible to establish an international communist organization like the former Communist International or Communist Information Bureau. They stated that the most realistic approach is to hold international meetings of the communist parties of the world or of communist parties from particular continents concerning world issues. In this connection, the Soviet officials noted that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was of the opinion that it is possible to hold an international conference without the Communist Party of China, but is certain that the Communist Party of Italy and others will not participate in such a conference. They indicated that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has presently under consideration an international conference on certain issues, such as support for the struggle of the Vietnamese against United States imperialist aggression. However, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is concerned that an international conference on issues, such as the war in Vietnam, would give the United States the excuse to claim that it was fighting world communism. The Soviet officials also mentioned that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had discussed Hall's proposal for a world boycott of United States goods with various other communist parties. However, the communist parties in Italy and France took a strong stand against the proposal, stating that it was not realistic.

The Soviet officials mentioned that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union plans to hold an international forum next year on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution. At such a conference, basic problems of the world communist movement, such as the problem of youth, will be raised. They acknowledged that Hall's idea of an international news agency was a good idea and that they personally agreed with it. However, they noted that some parties would look at this as a "new center" and compare it with the old Communist International. The Soviet officials also mentioned that money would be needed to finance such a news agency and that they had noted that some of the parties,

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DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
OFFICIALS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION,
LATE SUMMER, 1966

particularly those in the "socialist countries," were very greedy. The Soviet officials concluded their discussions by stating that Hall should discuss this idea further with representatives of other fraternal parties.

Because of the sensitive nature of the sources which furnished the above information, this communication is classified ~~"Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination."~~

NOTE:

Classified ~~"Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination"~~ since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the sources (CG 5824-S* and CG 6653-S) who are of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the country. Dissemination is being made to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, Central Intelligence Agency; the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General by routing slips. Data extracted from CGairtel 9/26/66, captioned "Solo, IS-C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 10/3/66, captioned "Solo, Internal Security-Communist," prepared by WGS:dmk.

~~TOP SECRET~~/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/3/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw 5-

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

This is to recommend that data developed by CG 5824-S* concerning a recent discussion between Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, and Boris N. Ponomarev, a Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, be disseminated to the White House, Attorney General, Secretary of State, and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

You will recall that on 8/7/66, CG 5824-S* departed with his wife, CG 6653-S, for the Soviet Union on Solo Mission 21. CG 5824-S* is still in the Soviet Union with Gus Hall. However, CG 6653-S returned to the United States on 9/17/66, bringing with her the notes compiled by CG 5824-S* concerning Hall's discussion with Ponomarev.

During this discussion, Hall raised several political and ideological problems relating to the international communist movement. Specifically, he mentioned (1) that each communist party throughout the world is immersed with its own problems and there is a failure of the parties to act and speak as a world communist movement; (2) that there is an urgent need for a world communist news agency to improve the unity of the world communist movement; (3) that the world communist movement is not doing enough to combat United States aggression in Vietnam.

Ponomarev agreed that Hall had raised some very serious problems. However, Ponomarev noted that at the present time the main problem of the world communist movement is the "splitting role of the Communist Party of China." He indicated that the Soviet Union is considering plans for a conference of all communist parties in order to discuss such world issues as United States aggression in Vietnam. However, Ponomarev cautioned that such action could cause the United States to claim that it is fighting world communism.

Enclosures - Sent 10-4-66

100-428091

WGS:dmk
(7) dmk

REC-6 100-428091-5808
EX-108

6 OCT 7 1966

CONTINUED - OVER

85 OCT 10 1966 FVW

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

Ponomarev noted that Hall's previous proposal calling for a world boycott of United States goods had been rejected as not being realistic.

Ponomarev acknowledged that Hall's idea of an international news agency was a good idea, but he noted that some parties would look at this as a "new center" and compare it with the old Communist International.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached summary be sent to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Richard Helms, Director, Central Intelligence Agency; the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General, by routing slips incorporating the data obtained by CG 5824-S*.

WBA
WBA
WBA
OK
A
P
✓
J

~~SECRET~~

(IS) [REDACTED]

Date: September 23, 1966

BY LIAISON

To: Director
Central Intelligence Agency

1 - Mr. Rozamus
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

b7D

Subject: [REDACTED]

7/27
Reference is made to your letter dated August 31, 1966, and your memorandum dated September 8, 1966, both captioned [REDACTED] (your file CSCI-316/04300-66). Referenced communications pertained to a letter originating in Cuba dated July 17, 1965, which was addressed to [REDACTED] and requested any available information in the files of this Bureau on [REDACTED] plus any comments this Bureau may have on whether or not open code was employed in the letter addressed to Ether.

[REDACTED] has not been the subject of an investigation by this Bureau. The files of this Bureau disclose that [REDACTED] a white female, was born January 31, 1902, at Long Island City, New York. She resides at 101 Lafayette Avenue, Brooklyn, New York, and is not employed. She formerly was employed by Western Union, 60 Hudson Street, New York, New York. [REDACTED] as recently as April, 1966, has attended functions sponsored by the "National Guardian."

The "National Guardian" is a self-styled progressive news weekly which first appeared in 1948. In its commentaries and articles on domestic and foreign affairs, the "National Guardian" echoes the Communist Party line.

This Bureau concurs with your opinion that open code was possibly employed in the communication of July 17, 1965, which was addressed to Ether.

① - 100-428091 (Solo)

WGS:dmk
(7)

~~SECRET~~

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-428091
NOT RECORDED

87 SEP 27 1966

ORIGINAL FILED

62 OCT 12 1966

~~SECRET~~

Director
Central Intelligence Agency

NOTE:

Outgoing letter to CIA classified "~~Secret~~" because referenced communications were so classified and outgoing letter by necessity refers to the contents of the referenced communications.

[redacted] b7D
from 12/58, to 11/59, when she was discontinued for reasons of poor health. Since 11/63, she has served as a panel source and has been used principally to receive material of interest through the mail. From 1964 to date, she has been utilized on a limited basis as a mail drop in the Solo case, which involves the liaison activities of the CPUSA with the CP of the Soviet Union. Since CIA's inquiry concerns [redacted] connection with the Solo case, it is not deemed judicious to furnish CIA with any information which would tend to compromise or jeopardize the informants being utilized in that case. Therefore, outgoing simply identifies [redacted] notes her attendance at affairs sponsored by the "National Guardian;" and points out that she has not been the subject of an investigation.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub F)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

DATE: 10/5/66

ReBulet dated May 5, 1960, and CGlet dated September 6, 1966.

ReBulet instructed Chicago to set forth a monthly accounting of all receipts and disbursements of Solo and CP, USA Reserve Funds in possession of CG 5824-S*.

During the month of August, 1966, CG 5824-S* became involved in the 21st Solo Mission and, as a result, there are no additions to or disbursements from Solo or CP, USA Reserve Funds to report since the submission of reCGlet.

Funds in possession of CG 5824-S* were as follows:

Solo

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Michigan Avenue National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois.....\$121,001.38

CP, USA Reserve Funds

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Michigan Avenue National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois..... 568.00

EX-114 Total \$121,569.38

- 1-904 910
- ②-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (RM)
(1-100-134637 (SOLO)
(1-100-128861 (CP, USA - Reserve Funds)
1-Chicago

REC 13

RWH:MDW
(5)

6 OCT 11 1966



OCT 14 1966

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637-Sub A)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

DATE: 10/3/66

Remylet, 9/1/66.

Debits

9/1/66	to HELEN WINTER for "Political Affairs"	\$4,000.00
9/28/66	to JESSICA SMITH for "New World Review"	7,500.00
9/28/66	to HELEN WINTER for CP, USA National Office expenses.	1,000.00
9/28/66	to LEM HARRIS; \$500.00 for CP, USA investments and \$1,000.00 to reimburse HARRIS for money HARRIS had used for CP, USA investments.	1,500.00

Total: \$14,000.00

Balance

On hand as of 8/31/66	\$1,257,467.03
Less debits	14,000.00

On hand as of 9/30/66 \$1,243,467.03

- 1 - 904 94D
- (2) - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub F) (RM)
- 1 - New York (134-91) (INV) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-128861-Sub B) (CP, USA RESERVE FUND) (42)
- 1 - New York (41)

WCM:rmp
(6)

REC 13

100-428091-5810
6 OCT 11 1966

EX-114



OCT 14 1966

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637-Sub A

LOCATION OF SOLO FUNDS - NEW YORK OFFICE TERRITORY:

Maintained by NY 694-S*

Safe-deposit box, Chemical Bank-New York
Trust Company
67 Broad Street
New York City, N.Y. \$110,000.00

JACK BROOKS Regular Checking Account at
Chemical Bank-New York Trust Company
20 Pine Street
New York City, N.Y.

Account #1 (991-228919)	28,317.03
Account #2 (001-232835)	32,345.92
Account #3 (001-237942)	49,204.08

NY 694-S* personal checking account
Chemical Bank-New York Trust Company
67 Broad Street
New York City, N.Y. 4,000.00

Sub-Total \$223,867.03

Maintained by NYO-FBI

Safe-deposit boxes
Manufacturers-Hanover Trust Company
69th Street at Third Avenue
New York City, N.Y. \$1,019,600.00

TOTAL (As of 9/30/66) \$1,243,467.03

F B I

Date: 10/7/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

On 10/6/66 CS [] furnished to SA WALTER A. BOYLE a picture postcard from CG 5824-S* postmarked 9/30/66 at Moscow, USSR, addressed to JOHN SHOULDERS, c/o Modern Book Store, 6624 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois. The text of this postcard which was dated 9/29/66 was as follows:

"Dear John,

"How are you these days? Just passing thru for a few days. It is cold here and snow is likely any day now.

"Will be on my way soon to visit with George in London.

"Our best,

/S/ "Jim"

The significance of the above message appears to be merely to inform us that as of 9/29/66 CG 5824-S* was in Moscow, USSR. Furthermore, CG 5824-S* indicated that he expected to travel to London to visit with "GEORGE" who may be identical with JOHN GOLLAN, General Secretary, CP of Great Britain. It is also possible that "GEORGE" may be identical with GEORGE MATTHEWS, a leading member of the CP of Great Britain who is well known to CG 5824-S*.

4-3-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago
WAB:MDW

6 OCT 12 1966

(5)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CG 134-46 Sub B

As you know, subsequent information has been received from CG 5824-S* by means of the Solo apparatus on 10/6/66 indicating that CG 5824-S* will be returning to the USA after 10/11/66 and, therefore, the above information is somewhat dated.

DIRECTOR, FBI

10/5/66

SAC, NEW YORK

b7D

PANEL SOURCE

ReBulet 9/28/66.

ReBulet concerns a communication in open code, dated 7/17/65, which originated in Cuba, was addressed to a drop in the SOLO case, and had come to the attention of CIA. Relet further reflected that the coded communication did not appear to pertain to the SOLO case. The NYO was requested to advise the Bureau concerning the caption of the case to which the coded communication is relative.

The communication in question does refer to the SOLO case, and is a coded letter addressed to NY 694-S* by BEATRICE JOHNSON (Bufile 100-18739), CPUSA liaison with the Cuban CP. The letter is in an open code used by BEATRICE JOHNSON in communications intended for transmission to the CPUSA through NY 694-S*. The plain text of the message is as follows:

"July 17, 1965

"Dear Jack Brooks:

"Well, thanks, it's finally happened, and Beatrice Johnson can escape from the heat for a bit. Shall write again from Moscow. Hoping someone will be there to talk to, for there is much to review, settle and decide, before Beatrice Johnson goes into the third year of unsatisfactory relationships.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- ①-100-428091 (SOLO)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (SOLO) (41)
- 1 - New York (41)

ACB:msb
(6)

100-428091
NOT RECORDED
100 OCT 6 1966

53 OCT 11 1966

ORIGINAL FILED IN

[redacted]

b7D

"There is an immediate thing that you must look into and answer as soon as you can--to Moscow, if possible, and that is pertaining to the [redacted] Did you know that our Gibby phoned the [redacted] asking for Beatrice Johnson to do something for them? They have returned from China completely cured--they are not smart and are in the dog house here and in bad way for place to work and live. Our friends in Cuba want to know why they left the USA, whether the Party consented, why they went to China, and what is the evaluation of the CPUSA of these [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted] Beatrice Johnson does not know anything about it except vaguely what Jack Brooks remarked in Cuba. Beatrice Johnson thinks they should be helped. They realize their mistake about the Chinese and see the thing clearly now. Something will be done for them I am sure, but the people in Cuba want to know the facts and the origin of the thing. So please post haste give me the dope. Send it to Art (Shields). If I am not there (Moscow), I can pick it up on my return from East Germany, where I have to settle some things. If anyone wants to see me in Prague, they can call 48 26 73 in East Germany in August.

"By the way, it is possible that Beatrice Johnson will see Fidel Castro before leaving and bring back a message for Gus Hall. That will be good, but nothing of this kind is ever certain.

"My very best to everyone. Am looking forward to a good talk with someone in a few weeks.

"My best
Beatrice Johnson

"P. S. On the [redacted] the Cuban Party wants official statement of the CPUSA.

b6
b7C

"Beatrice Johnson"

[redacted] b7D

The significance of the above message is as follows as explained by NY 694-S*:

The above letter was sent to the CPUSA through NY 694-S* and reflects that BEATRICE JOHNSON was leaving Cuba for Moscow. She is anxious that the CPUSA advise the Cuban CP as soon as possible concerning the status of [redacted] (Bufile 105-77743) and the latter's [redacted] of the CPUSA, resided in Cuba and made several trips to China. According to BEATRICE JOHNSON, ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN, realizing that [redacted] needed help in Cuba, telephonically advised the [redacted] to request BEATRICE JOHNSON to intercede for them with the Cuban CP. BEATRICE JOHNSON indicates in the letter that the [redacted] have become completely disillusioned with the Chinese, but as a result of their several trips to China, are suspected by the Cubans as possibly Chinese agents. b6 b7C

The Cuban CP desired to be advised by the CPUSA concerning why the [redacted] left the USA, whether the Party had consented to their so leaving, why they had gone to China and what the evaluation of the [redacted] by the CPUSA was. BEATRICE JOHNSON further advised that she was certain that if the Cuban CP knew the true facts, they would assist the [redacted] b6 b7C

The letter further reflects that BEATRICE JOHNSON requested that the CPUSA answer in this regard and that its answer be forwarded to her in Moscow through ART SHIELDS.

BEATRICE JOHNSON further stated in the letter that it is possible that she might see FIDEL CASTRO before leaving Cuba and that possibly she might have a message to convey to GUS HALL.

NY 694-S* has advised that although it was not his function to do other than to deliver the above message to the CPUSA, it had come to his attention from a source, whom he cannot now recall, that the CPUSA had contacted the CP of Cuba in this matter, as a result of which [redacted] [redacted] good standing. b6 b7C

F B I

Date: 10/7/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

As you are aware, on 10/6/66 the New York Office received a radio message which informed that CG 5824-S* expects to be returning from the 21st Solo Mission after 10/11/66. This message also informed that CG 5824-S* is in possession of information which GUS HALL desires our informant to convey to the CP, USA leadership remaining in the U.S.

CG 5824-S* has been abroad on the 21st Solo Mission in excess of two months. During this period he has participated in high level discussions with the leadership of almost every socialist country in Eastern Europe. As a consequence, intensive debriefing of CG 5824-S* should be initiated immediately upon his arrival in the U.S. to insure that the Bureau has first access to the information in his possession. The necessity for our informant to brief the CP, USA leadership would probably cause an extensive delay in obtaining this intelligence data were we not to contact him immediately upon his arrival. In addition, in order to insure absolute completeness and accuracy of all information received from CG 5824-S*, and in order to expedite the handling and dissemination of this information in a manner most advantageous to the Government, it is considered essential

1-3 Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago
WAB:MDW
(5)

REC 30

100-428091-5812
6 OCT 12 1966

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

55 OCT 11 1966

Memo Bureau to Sullivan 10/10/66 RCP: JWB
A/T & CG 10/11/66 RCP: JWB

CG 134-46 Sub B

that this debriefing be carried out by the two contacting agents.

In light of the above, the agents responsible for the handling of CG 5824-S* have been alerted and are prepared to take the necessary action for the initiation of immediate debriefing of this source. From past experience, we believe CG 5824-S* most likely will enter the U.S. at Boston, Mass., and after a brief stop there will probably proceed to NYC for conferences with the CP, USA leadership and with NY 694-S*. If the contacting agents proceed to the informant's point of entry in the U.S., discreet and secure contact will be made there, thus enabling immediate debriefing and expeditious handling of the most pertinent intelligence information in his possession. This debriefing could then continue by these agents in NYC both prior to and during the period the informant is conferring in NYC.

Recommendation

In light of the above, it is recommended that the contacting agents, SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE, be authorized to proceed to the informant's point of entry into the U.S. as soon as specific information is received as to his destination. If this travel is authorized, the estimated cost to the Bureau is as follows if the informant arrives at Boston and proceeds to NYC:

Jet coach air transportation for
two from Chicago to Boston to
NYC and return @ \$107.88 per agent.....\$215.76

Per diem @ \$16 per day for two
agents for approximately 4 days..... 128.00

Ground transportation at Chicago,
Boston, and New York for two
agents..... 15.00

Total \$358.76

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *Due*

DATE: October 6, 1966

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/6/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 317 GR 99, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw).
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

JLM:drv
(7) *Due*

REC 30

EX-104

100-428091-5813
5-1168
6 OCT 12 1966

65 OCT 14 1966

10/06/66

NR 0317

NR 0317 GR 099

10/06/66

44252 97566 58227 02375 07531 37265 09911 77491 94915 49556
94339 07358 12619 23346 74579 13648 33585 77331 91916 83303
36203 50794 21286 11666 74176 88500 26953 19666 42313 12279
56248 74808 74148 39194 81786 79786 81335 95286 66706 69355
18486 95965 17015 74781 77886 97417 57013 47281 17953 01875
63758 32362 67438 25271 40911 53929 53179 32347 15618 05219
51301 58600 16000 02117 38825 21114 47048 43668 92430 26119
37214 77726 53357 87753 88467 31529 34248 31497 13216 49728
81387 73533 04463 16048 57796 19388 60887 92142 92909 52697
18516 55110 04174 32248 98247 75110 18511 50750 94685

NR 0317

NR 0317 GR 099

10/06/66

#1#. PLEASE GIVE YOUR SUGGESTIONS AS REGARDS ^{SO} THE DULE FOR TU
GANDHAT FOR #1967#. #2#. FROM BIRCH. WE GOT INVITATION TO
END ONE REPRESENTATIVE TO MONGOLIAN [REDACTED] WH
ICH START SON #22# NOVEMBER. I RECOMMEND TO SEND [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] HUB WILL GIVE DETAILS. HE WILL RETURN TO
COVE IT PLAS ARE NOT CHANGED SOMEWHERE AFTER #11# OCTOBER.

b6
b7C

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5813

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/11/66

AIRTEL

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. R. Putnam

To: SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 10/7/66 requesting authority for Special Agents Richard W. Hansen and Walter A. Boyle, contacting Agents for CG 5824-S*, to proceed to informant's point of arrival in the U. S. as soon as specific information is received in that regard in order that debriefing of informant can commence without delay.

Authority is granted to send Special Agents Hansen and Boyle to meet informant as soon as specific date and place of arrival in the U. S. is received. Debriefing of informant must be handled expeditiously and the Bureau immediately advised by teletype of pertinent intelligence data developed by informant while on the 21st Solo Mission.

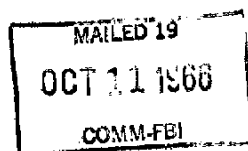
1 - Mr. M. F. Row (6221 IB)

RCP:scr (8)

NOTE:

See cover memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, dated 10/10/66, same caption, prepared by RCP:dmk.

OCT 11 12 10 PM '66
FBI
READING ROOM



EX-104

REC 30

6 OCT 12 1966

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

5 OCT 14 1966

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091).
Attention: FBI ANNEX
FROM *J.P.H./Wm* SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

DATE: 9/30/66

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

WRW/
WANDALY

ReBulet 8/19/66, forwarding Xerox copies of a letter in French and a 30-page pamphlet in Portuguese for translation.

The New York Office is returning to the Bureau, attention FBI Annex, two copies of the requested translation. One copy of the translation is being sent to Chicago.

FB

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
(1 - FBI Annex)(Enc-2)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(Enc-2)(RM)
1 - New York (41)

ACB:IM
(5)

g- ENCLOSURE

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED

1 OCT 3 1966

Dec 1964
SEC. 1
IN SEC. 8

SPECIAL RM

NO PART.
INFO RE DISSENG
WLB
289
OCT 14 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Rio de Janeiro June 27, 1966

Dear Friends,

We have the pleasure of sending you the enclosed material and we request you to make it public. We would be grateful to you if you would publish it in its entirety, in part, or even in summary form.

The letter of PRESTES to his lawyer, Dr. SOBRAL PINTO, served as the basis of the defense which took place recently at the time of the trial to which he was subjected.

As you know, Comrade PRESTES was condemned to 14 years in prison, through perversity along with numerous leaders of the Party.

The publication of this material in the communist and democratic press of your country will certainly serve to denounce the vile condemnation of which Comrade PRESTES and the chief leaders of the Party were victim, along with numerous other worker patriots, peasants, students, intellectuals.

Along with our thanks, receive, dear comrades, our cordial communist greetings.

FRANCISCO SANTORO.

100-42407

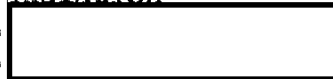
LUIZ CARLOS PRESTES

LETTER TO Dr. SOBRAL PINTO

1966

Translation

SA
SA



b6
b7C

100-438091-✓

March 21, 1966

To His Excellency, Dr. HERACLITO SOBRAL PINTO.
Rio de Janeiro, Guanabara, Brazil.

Honored and eminent Friend, Dr. SOBRAL PINTO.

With my cordial greetings, I again bother you today with a few additional bits of information that perhaps can contribute toward making less difficult the hard and thankless task of being my attorney in defense of the process taken against me by the Sao Paulo Military Justice.

As I wrote you, in the letter of the 10th of July, last year, I assure you that I did not commit any crime. I am a communist -- with the responsibility of director, which is an honor -- and my political position is clearly defined in the documents published by the Brazilian communist movement, including numerous articles signed by me, published in the "Novos Rumos" Weekly. I promised you then, that as soon as it was possible, I would write you again to expound in greater detail, the political orientation that we communists defended, and what practical activity we had. As you will understand, I will not try to relate the history of the communist movement in our country, nor even to tell the story of my long revolutionary life. It will be sufficient, I believe, just to refer to that which happened in the years most recently preceding the military coup of April 1, 1964. Therefore, I will take as a starting point the year 1958, the year in which, after 10 years the 1948 decree sending me to preventive prison was removed and I was absolved from the criminal action taken against me.

Beginning that year, I ceased being a political fugitive. The formal persecution by the dominant classes of our country ceased. I returned to being a Brazilian citizen, enjoying the civil and political rights assured all over the age of 18 years under the Brazilian Constitution.

It is correct that a decision of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (S.E.T.), in May of 1947, made the Communist Party illegal in our country, cancelling its electoral registration and forbidding its activity as a political party. But the communists were not physically eliminated, nor did they lose their political rights, they continued to exist, and as Brazilian citizens they were, as they are now, obliged

to participate in the political life of the nation, by exercising the right and duty of voting in the electoral battles. As you have seen in more than one judgement, the Federal Supreme Court and Constitution guarantee to every citizen the right to be a communist and to propagate his ideals. That is what all the Brazilian communists did. We did it in the open, without any subterfuge. We enjoyed our rights, and as citizens, we complied with a civic duty to struggle in defense of the interests of our people through (fair) answers to the agonizing problems that face the nation.

As I already told you in person, in those difficult and painful years of the New State when you, as my ex-officio defender, visited me in prison, I was not born a communist. I was converted to communism. It was after the march of the Column, as I tried to find an answer to the national problems, and I disagreed with the situation of misery, backwardness, and ignorance which encompass the majority of our people, that I came to Marxism-Leninism, and to the scientific conviction that, under Brazilian conditions, the first step along the road of progress requires the liberation of our people from the colonizing oppression of the imperialistic monopolies, and a radical agrarian reform, which would do away with the large estates, and would turn the land over to the masses of the workers, who live and work on them as servants of the dominant minority.

It is ridiculous to suppose that one who has such an intellectual conviction can abandon the fight for even one minute. He would be a traitor to his own conscience. It is therefore a question of ethics. In my personal case it has to do with loyalty to all those patriots who have already fallen for the cause of progress in Brazil, of those with whom I had the opportunity of fighting side by side. I refer to men, with a capital M., like JOAQUIM TAVORA, SIQUEIRA CAMPOS, NATHO PORTELA FAGUNDES and the brave soldiers of the Column, who all fell fighting for something other than exists (in Brazil), the fruit of the conspiracy of known agents of North-American imperialism with generals sold to the Pentagon, and with ex-Lieutenants of 1922 and 1924, like EDUARDO GOMES, CORDEIRO DE FARIAS and JUAZEM TAVORA, (who have) already forgotten all those who died and have become the executioners of those who are fighting for the same cause which they (the ex-Lieutenants) said, that they were fighting for in their youth. But, let us not speak of these illustrious men. Let us remember the distinguished poet -- non ragioniam di loro, ma guarda e passa.

Now, in the enjoyment of their political rights, what could and should the communists do to participate in the political life of the nation? How are they to delineate the political orientation to follow without examining, collectively, the actual situation, consulting one with another, meeting, and through free debate, arriving at well defined conclusions? In accordance with the Electoral Code then in force, how should we communists have organized ourselves, into a political party? According to the legal dictates we should have requested the registration of a political party, presenting whatever required to the J.E.T., duly accompanied by planned programs and by-laws and by petitions with the signatures of 50,000 voters. And, how could we communists make up plans for party programs and by-laws for the political party that we wanted to register without a prior meeting on our part? How could we obtain the 50,000 signatures without making contact with the communists and their sympathizers?

Beginning in 1950, communist activity in our country was basically oriented in this way. As Brazilian citizens, enjoying our rights, we struggled for the registry of a political party by which we could, without offending our political, ideological and intellectual convictions, participate in the nation's political life. It would be insane to believe that the communists would join the already existing political parties in the country, all of which defended the programs that we could not agree with, because they are, in general, opposed to, or even antagonistic to the position for which the communists struggle.

It was with the objective of formulating a political program, and of working out in detail by-laws for the party whose registration we wanted to request from the J.E.T. that, after more than six months of public debate in the columns of the weekly, "Novos Rumos", we met in the State of Juazeiro, in a National Convention of the communist movement. We approved a document that we published in "Novos Rumos", and soon after in a pamphlet under the designation Political Resolution. This was an outlined document which acted as a basis for the drafting of the "program plan" which we were to present, as in fact we later did, to the J.E.T. In the same National Convention we approved the projected by-laws, that also acted as a foundation for the drafting of the final project that we sent to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal.

As you see, we didn't act under cover, clandestinely, but rather in the open and frankly. We didn't conspire against the government, but on the contrary, we claimed the right to legal political activity, we struggled for the electoral registration of a political party, so that we could, as its members, participate in the political life of the nation. I copy for your understanding, some characteristic from the above mentioned Political Resolution that we wanted to file:

"The Communist Party of Brazil (in the final plan this name was substituted by the Brazilian Communist Party), party of the working class, has as its supreme objective the establishment of a socialist society, that is based on the social ownership of the means of production, it ends the exploitation of man by man, and (it ends) class antagonisms."

And in the following paragraph:

"Under present conditions, meanwhile, Brazil has its progress held in check by exploitation by international imperialistic capital, and by the monopoly in the ownership of land in hands of the landowner class. The fundamental tasks that today are placed before the Brazilian people are the conquest and emancipation of the country from the imperialist domination and the elimination of the backward Agrarian structure, along with the establishment of ample democratic liberties, and the betterment of living conditions for the popular masses."

How did the communists think it possible to attain such objectives? Would it be by means of subversion, of struggle to overthrow the legal government? No. Rather by following exclusively legal means, as you can verify by reading the following excerpt of the document at hand:

"Although the 1946 Constitution may encompass reactionary aspects, such as the directives that severely limit the possibilities of having a democratic agrarian reform, it also sets out the liberties and the social rights won by the masses after the worldwide overthrow of fascism and the New State in the country: freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and organization, universal suffrage, representative government, right to strike, etc. The Constitution also establishes legal instruments for the struggle of the Brazilian people for the national liberty, for the democracy, and for their social claims."

We also said:

"Broad and powerful forces oppose the principal enemy of the nation (North American imperialism): the proletariat, which is a more firm and important class in the struggle for national liberation and is the most interested in profound democratic changes; the peasants, interested in doing away with a backward agrarian structure which is founded on imperialist domination; the small urban bourgeoisie, that can't expand its activities by virtue of the backwardness of the country; a bourgeoisie tied to the national interests, and is prejudiced by the action of the imperialist monopolies."

We proposed, therefore, the formation of a broad national and democratic movement, capable of struggling for a government that might effect the structural reforms sought by the nation, affirming in a categorical manner that this would be possible within the "framework of the present regime", or textually:

"The conquest of economic and political reforms, of a popular and anti-imperialist character is possible now, within the framework of the present regime, essentially depending on the increase of the struggles of the masses, on the power of the nationalistic and democratic front, and on the role that the more important revolutionary forces might carry out, above all the working class, the peasants and other popular social strata. Upon struggling for partial solutions, of an immediate character, the working class has the objective of striking (or hitting) the positions of North American imperialism and its internal agents, accumulating the revolutionary forces, modifying the relationship of forces to favor the people, and preparing conditions for the complete realization of the radical changes demanded by the present historical stage."

We also said that we were convinced that "in the present conditions in Brazil and in the world, the real possibility exists that an anti-imperialistic and anti-feudal revolution could obtain its objectives by peaceful means" and we appealed for the defense of legality:

"The communists call all the citizens to strongly defend each political liberty, each democratic right written in the constitution, and they denounce any reactionary attempts to violate legality."

As you see, this language is incompatible with any subversive intent or with any pretense for insurrectional struggle. The Marxists-Leninists always affirm that civil war or armed insurrection can only be victorious as actions of great masses of millions of people. How could we, Brazilian communists, be preparing the masses for subversion, if publically we called them to the defense of legality, and at the same time, we made all efforts to obtain the legal register of our Communist Party, as a political party? We communists are revolutionaries, which means we struggle for the change of society regarding progress and in certain conditions, we will not hesitate to wield arms to make our ideals victorious. This is, however, a theoretical thesis, a generic statement. Within the historical period of which we are speaking, however, our orientation was different. We foresaw the advance of the revolutionary process through fair utilization of legal means then existant. And it is because of this that the men of the present dictatorship, no matter how hard they try, will never find proof of our so called subversive activity.

I have here in my possession a few copies of "Novos Rumos" that I desire to place in your hands. By them you can verify that all our political activity was oriented, in a clear and well known manner, in the defense of the constitutional legality. Look, for example, at the manifesto that we published, signed by me for the Brazilian communists, on August 26, 1961, when of President JÂNIO QUADROS' resignation, we said:

"The constitutional legality and the democratic conquests of the Brazilian people are seriously menaced." We affirmed that "the only constitutional democratic solution, in respect to the public desire, is the passage of the government to the hands of the Vice-President of the Republic...." And we made the appeal: "Lets defend democratic legality..." ("Novos Rumos", 26-VIII-1961).

In the September 1, 1961 "Novos Rumos", under the title -- "The Communists direct themselves to the People", a document was published in which we affirmed: "Urge that all the patriots unite under the flag of the democratic resistance front in order to guarantee fulfillment of the Constitution..."; "Against the conspirators, in defense of the constitution and for the immediate inauguration of JOAO GOULART..."; "We demand... the full re-establishment of constitutional guarantees!" And we made the final appeal: "Struggle for the victory of democratic legality!"

In the Sept. 15, 1961 "Novos tempos", there is an article published, signed by me, in which the following is read: "The struggle for defense of the democratic liberties and constitutional legalities continues and requires increasing vigilance, as well as the organization and unity of all patriotic and democratic forces." We ended the article with the following words: "It is equally indispensable that we intensify the collection of signatures, having in mind, within the shortest time possible, soliciting, of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, the registration of the Brazilian Communist Party."

In the April 27, 1962 edition of "Novos tempos", there was published, with the title of "Prestes to the Workers: National Emancipation for the Victory of Socialism", a manifesto related to the holding of the International Workers Day, the 1st of May, signed by me, from which I transcribe the following passage: "Let us intensify, then, the struggle against misery, against high cost of living and inflation. Let us fight in defense of the democratic liberties, for the consolidation of democracy in our country."

In the July 6, 1962 edition, "Novos tempos" published, on the first page, the news that the request for the registration of the Communist party was given to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, with the following terms:

"Prestes presented to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, in Brasilia, on the afternoon of the 4th, the request for electoral registration of the Brazilian Communist Party. Petitions containing more than 53,000 signatures of voters, besides full documentation containing numerous statements of the most varied groups and personalities in favor of the registration of the BCP (Brazilian Communist Party), which accompanied the petition given to the magistrates."

And it transcribed the terms on which the S.E.T. requirements were (vasado):

"LUIZ CARLOS PRESTES,... ASTROGILDO PEREIRA, AGOSTINHO DIAS OLIVEIRA,... founding members, with the foundation on articles 32 and 133 of the Electoral Code, and on the terms of the resolution number 3, 988, of Oct. 10, 1950 of this Tribunal, (they) come to solicit the register of the Brazilian Communist Party, as a legal person with internal public right."

It was to that requirement that, under the law, we gathered the planned programs and by-laws, documents that only could be perfected by debates among the communists, utilizing the press, meetings and conferences, that had to be held through the country, in addition to the popular gatherings in which we solicited the signatures of friends and sympathizers and of voters in general, for the lists that were to be sent to the S.E.T. It is also correct that, once the request for a register was given to the S.E.T., we should continue, as in truth we did, the struggle for a favorable solution, for the acceptance of our request.

In "Novos Rumos", July 20, 1962, an article signed by me was published under the title "Opposition to the New Cabinet and Struggle for Acceptance of Basic Reforms" from which I copy the following passage: "It is indispensable to demand from the government the respect for democratic liberties and the broadening of democracy within the country, with the vote for the illiterate, reform of the electoral laws, the electoral registration of the Communist Party."

In an interview with the weekly "Novos Rumos" published in the Feb. 1, 1963 edition, referring to the plebiscite which caused the return of the presidential regime, I had occasion to declare: "Agrarian reform, practical means against the imperialist spoliation, effective fight against high costs of living, guarantee and broadening of the democratic liberties -- this is what the people demanded on the 6th of January."

In "Novos Rumos", July 12, 1963, entitled, "The Communists and the National Political Situation", there was a document published in which, manifesting our opposition to the government, we protested to Mr. JOAO GOULART, (asking) that he modify his ministry, and organize a national and democratic government "that would assure the most solid and broad democratic legality and (that would) initiate the structural reforms demanded by the nation." The following paragraph, in which we insisted on the struggle for the legality of the Party, is also pertinent:

"The struggle for the popular interests and for the solution of the national problems is intimately tied to the struggle for consolidation and amplification of democracy, in defense of the democratic liberties, in defense of the mandates and for the taking of office of the elected congressmen, for the revocation of article 50 of the Electoral

Code, for the extension of the right to vote to soldiers and to the illiterate, and for the legality of the Brazilian Communist Party."

In the Sept. 20, 1963 "Novos Rumos", under the title -- "The Communists to the Brazilian People", we published another document, in which we said: "At the same time the struggle against any attempt against the democratic liberties demands increased vigor, in defense of the full right to strike, of the right to assembly and of free expression of thought, of the right of the soldiers, sailors, and illiterates to vote, against all the anti-democratic discriminations of the electoral law, such as those that inveigh against the communists, in defense of the popular mandates for the taking of office of those elected, and finally, for the consolidation and amplification of democracy."

When President GOULART requested Parliament to declare a state of seige, once again we came out in defense of constitutional legality, having published in the Oct. 5, 1963 "Novos Rumos", under the title -- "The Communists Direct Themselves to the Workers and to the People", a document which ends with the following appeals: "Against the implantation of the state of seige and for the guarantee of the democratic liberties for the people," and "For a nationalistic and democratic government, capable of embarking on the basic reforms that the nation demands!"

Afterward, in an article signed by me, as a supplement to the "Novos Rumos" which commemorated the anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution of 1917, I had the occasion to write the paragraph which follows:

"The Brazilian Communists, who don't accept any kind of compromise in their unwaivering loyalty to proletarian internationalism, celebrate the anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution of October at a time in which, thanks to a political orientation that is based in a self critical position of untiring struggle against sectarianism and dogmatism and on concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis of reality, (they) attain new victories and, together with all the workers and all patriots, successfully defend democratic liberties and open new and more promising perspectives in the struggle of our people for complete national emancipation and for social progress."

Because it better reflects the true meaning of our activity, I take the liberty of directing your attention to the following document which was published as a supplement to "Novos Rumos" in the January 24, 1964 edition. It deals with the text of an interview on Sao Paulo television when I was interrogated for about 2 1/2 hours by a number of reporters about political problems of the moment. One can see, for example, the reply I gave to the journalist who asked me if the communists intended to come to power through democratic processes:

"Yes, within the democratic processes. You gentlemen must permit me a short explanation, one which I will make as rapidly as possible. We are revolutionaries, we are struggling for socialism, we are convinced that capitalism moves inexorably toward socialism. So we struggle for socialism, we think that only socialism will finally resolve the problems of our people and give them the happiness and well-being that they desire. Nevertheless, at the present moment, we are not fighting for a socialist revolution in Brazil. And why? Because the conditions are not right for it. The Brazilian revolution at the present moment is nationalistic and democratic. It is attempting to emancipate the country from the imperialist yoke and to have a radical agrarian reform which will do away with the large landowners. So, we are struggling for a revolutionary government of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal forces which will be capable of carrying out the tasks of the revolution. We communists think that, in the process of reaching this revolutionary government, given the world situation and the Brazilian situation at the present moment, it is possible, even under the present capitalistic regime and with the existing structure, to form a democratic, nationalist government which might initiate these reforms. Once the reforms are initiated, from them will come modifications in the relationships of the political forces; the working class will have more power, the farmer masses will have more power, the reforms will cut deeper, and deeper and we will finally arrive at the revolutionary point, a de facto revolutionary government which will carry out the tasks of the revolution up to this stage and open the way to socialism in our country."

As your excellency can see, what the communists were interested in was constitutional legality. We were convinced that it was by legal means and not by illegal ones, nor by subversion, that the ends of the revolution would be best and most rapidly advanced in our country. It

was the reactionary men, the agents of imperialism, the big landowners and big capitalists and the reactionary generals who feared they would perish because of the legality. "La legalite nous tue" as the French political reactionary, ODILON BARROT, said in 1849. Because of this, it was not we communists who were conspirators and subversives, it was the reactionary generals and their Brazilian and foreign financiers, the business men of Sao Paulo, as I will try to show in another passage in this letter.

When, in the early months of 1964, President JOAO GOULART gave Mr. SAN THIAGO DANTAS the job of trying to unify the democratic forces, the communists responded to the program with suggestions for a government program formulated by that illustrious public figure with the publication in "NOVOS MUNDO" on Jan. 24, 1964 of a document entitled "The Position of the Communists", in which was written:

"The Communists have a clear and well defined position for the formation of a wide front comprised of all the democratic and nationalistic forces and for the realization of the basic reforms necessary to the progress and emancipation of Brazil. They are ready, therefore, to participate in all the negotiations held in keeping with these patriotic objectives." At the same time the communists were suggesting that there be included in the above program, a section referring to the defense of democratic liberties made in an forthright manner with the following demands: "I. A guarantee for the public liberties and energetic measures against the forces which are attempting to interrupt the democratic process. II. Amnesty for all the sentenced men (i.e. sergeants) and enlisted men of the Armed Forces arrested as the result of the protest in Brasilia, as well as for all those arrested for political reasons. III. Guarantee of the mandates and the taking of office of all those elected."

With the transcription of excerpts from numerous documents all being of common public knowledge since they were published in a weekly with a circulation throughout Brazil of never less than 40,000 copies, as was "NOVOS MUNDO", I think it is sufficiently corroborated that the Brazilian communists and myself person ally were not acting furtively, undercover nor clandestinely. As Brazilian citizens in full enjoyment of our political and civil rights, we participated in the enjoyment of our political and civil rights, we participated in the political life of the nation, defending, as our right, our opinions; struggling, as seemed to us most

to the point, for complete national emancipation, for the well-being of our people, for the progress of Brazil.

In these conditions it becomes evident that, unless because of bad faith or ineptitude, it was not necessary for the Political and Social Police of Sao Paulo to assault my family home nor forgo documents in order to arrive at the vulgar conclusion that, a delegate specialized in social order, a Mr. Aldario Tinoco signed and sent to Military Justice in order to serve as the basis of the criminal process instituted against me, a document which says:

"We see with absolute clarity that the Brazilian Communists, led by LUIZ CARLOS PRESTES and a handful of others are dedicating all of their time to work on behalf of communists pronouncements... we see, we say, that they with their ruses... were preparing in Brazil, a climate favorable to revolution and the consequent change of the present regime." (pg.261)

And further on:

"And what were the Brazilian communists doing uninterruptedly? From all the meetings we cited, from all the documents which were seized in the houses of those indicated, one comes to this conclusion; they were breathing life into the Communist Party, although acting illegally, caring for it's reorganization, even attempting to give it legal status." (pg. 263)

The two excerpts cited above are enough to reveal the ignorance of the deputy from Sao Paulo who, apparently, doesn't know the theory of the Brazilian Constitution of 1946 and the Electoral Code. The communists were not "attempting" only to give legal status to the Communist Party, they were struggling ardently for this and were awaiting the decision to that effect from the Supreme Electoral Tribunal to which, under the terms of the law, it was directed. But the above delegate, so it seems, doesn't know of any other law on our country except the notorious Lei de Seguranca (Security Law), Law number 1302, which he cites in the courts as the supreme law of the land. And it is in order to be able to accuse me of violating item 3 of Art. 9 of that law that he pretends not to know everything public and well known about my political activity, the open struggle that binds we communists

for the electoral registration of the Communist Party and he tries to accuse me of "artifices" of acting "illegally", and he tries to say, of clandestine activity. But why would we communists need to act furtively with the objective of "re-organizing or trying to reorganize in fact or in law, shortly putting into effective operation, even under a false name or simulated form a political party or association dissolved by force of legal action or to make it function as usual when legally suspended", under the terms of the above cited item 3 of Article 9 of Law 1802? Where can the police representative discover "the false name" or the "simulated form"? For what would we abandon the field of strictest legality, trying to breathe life into the Communist Party which was put outside the law and which had lost its electoral registration? Supported by the constitution of Brazil, we had the right to be communists and to spread our ideas. Based on the Electoral Code then in force, if we had had the right to ask the Supreme Electoral Tribunal for the registration of a political party, why should the Brazilian Communists be militant?

Judicial studies are not needed to see that the Brazilian Constitution and the Electoral Law are far superior, legally, to the infamous Security Law. The above mentioned Art. 9 of the Electoral Code does not apply in any fashion to the open and notorious activity that we communists carried out as Brazilian citizens in full enjoyment of our political and civil rights without seeking "simulated forms" or "false name" but requesting openly of the S.E.T. the registration of the political party which would have the name PARTIDO COMUNISTA BRASILEIRO.

But it isn't only on Art. 9 of Law 1802 that the above police representative bases my imagined crimes. He goes further. According to the Sao Paulo policemen I also violated Art. 2 of the same law which reads "To try to change the political or social order established in the Constitution by means of the help or subsidy of an international character, of a foreign country or of a foreign organization."

But, how would someone who was struggling so ardently and insistently in the defense of constitutional legality, be able "to attempt to change the established political order established in the Constitution" while, as the delegate from Sao Paulo recognizes, one was doing everything in order that his political party might be recognized? And it is evident that logic (reason) had been put aside because

the gentlemen who, from April 1st, 1964, usurped power in our country, required that I be accused of "subversion" since an accusation of "corruption" was not possible.

In truth, however, where were the "subversives" in the years which preceded the military coup of 1964? On the side of the communists who were struggling in defense of the constitutional legality and in 1961, for the legitimate successor of Mr. JANIO QUADROS? Or on the side of those who were conspiring against the legally constituted government and who finished by setting loose a victorious military coup, deposing President JOAO GOULART and installing the reactionary and intrigue ridden military dictatorship which we now have there? It was those very men who overthrew the government (golpistas) who, in order to sing their own praises, made public, through numerous interviews in newspapers and magazines, the conspiratory activity which they carried out for years in preparation for the coup d'etat. In their anxiety to present themselves as "heroes" they were so reckless in their language that, by this time, with the growing demoralization and unpopularity of the dictatorship, many should already have been arrested. It would be possible to cite "confessions" of conspirators such as ODILIO DENYS, CORDEIRO DE FARIA, NELSON DE MELO, MOURAO FILHO, CARLOS LUIZ GUEDES, ANTONIO CARLOS MURICI and many others. There is, however, a letter from Mr. JULIO DE MESQUITA FILHO dated Jan. 20, 1962 which was published in its full text on April 12, 1964, in the newspaper which this man directs in Sao Paulo, and which clearly shows on which side the conspirators and subversives were.

"For two years, more or less" begins the article in the "O Estado de Sao Paulo" under the title "Roteiro da Revolucao" (Timetable of the Revolution), "Dr. JULIO DE MESQUITA FILHO, pressured by high ranking military men of the Armed Forces to give his opinion as to what the conspiracy should do in case of victory and then what had already been done against the regime of Sr. JOAO GOULART, sent them, in reply, the following letter. Of said letter, which took three columns of the newspaper, it is sufficient to transcribe the most significant passages:

"Those companions of ours told me that it had been decided that, beginning now, a 3 member Military Junta will be constituted, to which will fall the functions of Executive Power. This is a step with which I am in complete agreement."

"..It would seem to me indispensable, therefore, that the Military Junta, on the day following the taking of power, declare the Constitution of 1946 to be in effect, it being at this point already freed from the obvious defects and changed, in that which a deeper study of the problem indicates, in order to make possible the urgent work of ironing out difficulties one has in mind."

It is indispensable, and I personally consider it one of the principal obligations of the Military Junta to make a radical clean-up in the halls of Justice."

"And also in relation to the Legislative. Closing it "ex-abrupto" could not help but cause great apprehension in the community. It would be better, in my opinion, to declare a state of seige immediately following the decision by which the suggested changes to the Constitution would take effect. Parliamentary immunities would be suspended, and only a short time later, when the public opinion gains confidence in the proposals and acts of the revolutionary government, could the dissolution of the House be dealt with."

But that's enough. Although we leave aside the scheming Machiavellianisms of which Mr. MESQUITA informs us in his letter to the "high officers of the Armed Forces", it is sufficient to show to which side the conspirators belonged. It was not the communists, but Mr. MESQUITA and his general friends who conspired to oversee not only the dispossession of the President of the Republic, but also the arbitrary modification of the Constitution, the "housecleaning" of the Judiciary Power, and the dissolution of the Legislative Power. And from conspiracy they continued to action, as was amply revealed by the North-American magazine "Life", in its Spanish language edition, dated Nov. 23, 1964, pages 25 and 30.

With the title "How a Leftist Coup was Avoided in Brazil", said magazine published a long article which shows the important role that certain Sao Paulo business men and their friends from the North-American monopolies had in the financing and preparation of the military coup and in the conspiracy which Mr. MESQUITA participated in. "The generals brought about the demonstration of force," -- it says in the article -- "that brought about the outcome. But this was not simply one of the many military uprisings in Latin America. Significantly, a great part of the inspiration and of the revolutionary plans came from entrepreneurs and professionals who were worried about Brazil's deviation to the left." After a history of the conspiracy the article informs:

"In the opinion of some civilians, there was no other remedy, dying in defense of liberty, or letting oneself be taken and later shot for not having known how to defend it. And they began to arm themselves. Groups who lived in the residential areas of Sao Paulo acquired arms, munitions and provisions, and they carefully planned the defense of their respective blocks." The author also says that he contacted Lt. Colonel NESTELL, and they came to the conclusion that they could resist for 60 days. He adds: "Before that period could end, the MESQUITA group (that is, Sr. JULIO DE MESQUITA FILHO) hoped for foreign help. They sent an emissary to Ambassador GORDON to ask him what attitude his government would take if the civil war should take place. The emissary returned with the news that GORDON was very cautious and diplomatic, but that he had given to understand that if the Sao Paulistas could hold out for the space of 48 hours, the U.S. would give them their recognition and help."

These are statements that, as far as I know, have not been answered up to now, neither by Mr. MESQUITA nor by his conspiring friends the generals. And these are the same men that dare to call we communists, traitors to the country and of selling out to MOSCOW. The accusation was also endorsed by the Sao Paulo policeman who, even though he had not been able to find or forge a single document that would permit him to say that the communists had armed, had accumulated munitions and supplies for themselves, or that they had gone to the Soviet Union or the Republic of Cuba for help, didn't hesitate to capitalize on the pretended crime of the communists under Article 2 of law 1802. Rushing on, however, the Sao Paulo flat-foot, faced by the weakness of the "proof" he was able to gather, tried to interpret the article of the Security Law referred to. "When one refers to subsidy it doesn't mean material subsidy, in kind" -- he explained on page 263 of his report, adding, "there can also be an intellectual, a guidance, or a planning subsidy. That is what Russia did: she contributed with her experience, suggesting, or perhaps, dictating, orders for the changing of the political or social order of our country".

This is without a doubt edifying... But in his effort to have the affirmation that the communists receive the so-called "orders from Moscow" and now also the "orders from Havana" appear to be true, the Sao Paulo policeman uses for support some documents that he said he found in my residence, documents that refer to conversations I had

in Moscow, with NIKITA KRUSHCHEV, then chief of the Soviet Government, and first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And, together with this, certainly trying to cause an effect, and prove the sagacity of the Sao Paulo police, there in the end of the report, on page 271, he affirms that he was ready to conclude the report when he received an element of proof against the indicated LUIZ CARLOS PRESTES. The cop discovered by my Brazilian citizen's passport, that in truth I was in Moscow, on Nov. 18, 1961. This is obviously a discovery that does no honor to the sagacity of the Sao Paulo police since I never traveled incognito, always having ample news coverage on the trips that I made, not only to the Soviet Union, but also to other socialist countries, as I will show.

In 1959 I was in Peking, where I had the occasion to talk with MAO TSE-TUNG and other directors of the government and of the communist party of China. I was also in Moscow, Prague, and in East Berlin and was received by the state authorities and directors of the communist parties. Upon returning from China, I had the opportunity to write a series of articles in the weekly, "Novos Rumos", regarding the construction of the socialist society in the great Asiatic Republic.

In 1960, I returned to Moscow, where I participated in the historic conference of 81 communist and Workers Parties, having published in "Novos Rumos", Dec. 30, 1960 under the title "The Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties", a long article.

In 1961, I again went to Moscow, where I attended the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, publishing on my return to our country, in "Novos Rumos", of Jan. 26, 1962, under the title of "The Builders of Communism -- An Historic Debate", a long article that begins with the following words:

"It was with profound emotion that we followed the work of the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. With thoughts turned to the destinies of our people, we saw in the XXII Congress of the CPSU the demonstration of the power already attained by the great Soviet Union, which is the support and hope of all people who struggle for national emancipation, and for social progress."

In 1963 I went to Havana, where I was able to converse with the eminent director of the Cuban people, and noted Latin American revolutionary, FIDEL CASTRO, as well as with numerous other directors of the Cuban people. That visit was also widely covered, because the weekly "Novos Rumos" published in its edition of May 1, 1963 a supplement that is a transcript of an interview given by me in Havana to the journalist, JOSE MANUEL FORTUNY, from the newspaper "Hoy", an interview in which I declared the following:

"The revolutionary spirit of the Cuban People profoundly impressed me. I could see the enthusiasm by which the revolution was brought about, and the great decision not to retreat in any way before North-American imperialism. Unfortunately, my stay in Cuba was very short and I couldn't make a deep study of the problems of the Revolution, and the construction of socialism, which knowledge is of the greatest importance for every revolutionary."

Finally, in January and February of 1964, I had the occasion to visit the Soviet Union again. The trip was well covered since the weekly "Novos Rumos", of Feb. 21, published a photograph of my meeting with NIKITA KRUSCHEV, and under the title "PRESTES and KRUSCHEV: Denunciation of the factionists within the International Communist Movement", I transcribed the official communique telling of the above meeting which was published in the Moscow newspaper, "PRAVDA". The tenor of the communique is very enlightening on the objectives of similar meetings between communist directors. We copy from "Novos Rumos":

"During his last visit to the Soviet Union, LUIZ CARLOS PRESTES had a cordial meeting with NIKITA KRUSCHEV, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Apropos this interview, the newspaper Pravda in its edition of the 8th of last (month), published an official note high on the first page, a photo in which appeared PRESTES between KRUSCHEV and PONOMAREV. After mentioning the interview which occurred on the 7th, the note says that "there was a friendly exchange of opinions between comrade N.S. KRUSCHEV and Comrade L.C. PRESTES re the problems of the communist and international workers movement as well as developments in the present world situation. "Further on, after mentioning the "spirit of sincere and fraternal friendship" characteristic of the relations between the Soviet and Brazilian

Communists, the note adds that "one more time the complete unity of points of view with reference to the problems of the fight against fractionalistic and divisionistic activity in the international communist movement is confirmed." Further, the note says, "Comrade N.S. KRUSCHEV transmitted to the Brazilian Communists, wishes for success in their struggle for peace and social progress in their country."

In the same issue of "NOVOS RUMOS" an interview which I conceded to the newspaper Pravda in Moscow and which is accompanied by another photograph of the same meeting with KRUSCHEV was published.

On return from this last trip to the Soviet Union, I gave a long interview to the weekly "Novos Rumos" which was published in its edition of 28 of February under the title, "PRESTES IN THE U.S.S.R." and which was also accompanied by several photographs.

In view of this, where is my crime? As a man in public life with tremendous political responsibilities needing to be acquainted with the social laws and the manner in which they are applied, needing to possess a well rounded idea of the concrete situation in the world and in the principal countries, having, as I have, the obligation of continuing to study social and political science, my trips have no other purpose. Beyond this, as a patriotic and modest judge of the problems of our people, on visiting Communist China, the Soviet Russia and other socialist countries, I was always invited to give talks and hold conferences. The interest in Brazil was greater each time and it was for me, a matter of great patriotic pride to speak before immense auditoriums with respect to the economic, political and social situation in our country, as well as of the struggle of our people for social progress.

"It is impossible not to love the Homeland" wrote BELINSK, the great Russian critic and patriot of the 19th century, but he added, "it is only needed that this love not be an inert position of he who conforms to that which exists, but a burning desire for perfection; in a word, the love of the Homeland should be at the same time a love of humanity... The love of the Homeland is the ardent desire to see in it the realization of the human ideal and to contribute to this the limit of our strength."

We are communists because we are patriots, because we do not accept the situation of misery, backwardness and

ignorance in which one finds our people. We feel humiliated at knowing that Brazilians still live in hunger not only on the distant landholdings and along the highways of the Northeast but also in the streets of the large cities. We are humiliated at knowing that more than 50% of the Brazilian population is still illiterate and that, in this century, (one of accelerated revolution in the sciences and technology) secondary education, not to mention higher education, is becoming more and more a privilege of the sons of the rich. It humiliates us to know that the average life span in Brazil is less than 50 years when it reaches 70 years in the United States and 72 years in the Soviet Union. We are not satisfied with the underdevelopment and the slow growth of our country; nor with the median annual income of each Brazilian which in 1960 was 8 to 10 times less than that of a North American and now thanks to the dictatorship of CASTELLO BRANCO has, in 1965, arrived at \$150.00 or 20 times less than that of a North American; nor that the median consumption of steel per person should be in Brazil less than 45 kilos when it is more than 500 kilos in the developed countries and even in the developing countries it is between 200 and 400 kilos per person. In a recent international congress on foodstuffs, held in Italy, it was announced that about 60% of the Brazilian population lives in a state of chronic malnutrition, that with a daily per capita calory intake of about 3,200 calories in the developed world, it does not go above 2,300 in Brazil and in the Northeast it falls to below 2,000 calories per day. It is a shame to be happy in the face of such misery. It is against this that we fight. This, therefore, is my only crime.

Yet the judges of the dictatorship, in condemning me as so many other patriots already condemned to dozens of years in prison, should abandon the subterfuges, should be decent, should not vilify the robes they wear, robes already worn by men and patriots like BENJAMIN CONSTANT and SIQUEIRA CAMPOS. They should not worsen their crimes, intending to deceive the people. They say clearly that my "crime" is a crime of opinion, that I am condemned because I am a communist and struggle for the progress of my country.

I do not expect, in any way, the understanding of the military men who must judge me. They are poor souls submitted to the hierarchy of the barracks, alien to this terrible machine which oppresses all of us. But I am certain that Your Excellency, Dr. SOBRAL PINTO, and all the righteous men of our homeland will recognize that the right is at my side however much these men may stray from the ideals for which I fight. It was what His Holiness, Pope Paul VI re-

cognized in affirming in the Encyclical ECCLESIAM SUAM, referring himself to the communists, or more particularly to the atheists, "We see them also moved, at times, by noble sentiments, spurning mediocrity and the egotism of so many contemporary social surroundings and ready to come take our gospel forms and language of solidarity and of human comprehension."

The Brazilian people can have no doubt that whatever the sentence drawn up against me by the courts of the dictatorship, I will pursue the way started in my youth. I am convinced that our people are nearing great struggles. "God writes straight on crooked lines", say the people. The present dictatorship, which is not capable of resolving even one of the great problems which confront the Brazilian nation, is contributing, through its policy of national treason, of growing misery for the workers, of cultural terrorism, of cynical participation in the crimes of the United States against the brother peoples of the continent, of committing the indignity of using the Brazilian flag to cover its aggression against the Dominican people, it is contributing - I repeat - to that which approaches with faster and faster steps the moment of the necessary and inevitable occurrence. In our country the objective conditions necessary for the revolutionary step are ripening rapidly. We communists will do everything so that on the arrival of the moment of the revolution, the working class will be sufficiently conscious of its historical duty, will have reached the necessary degree of unity and at the same time will have gained the confidence of the great masses of agricultural workers and of all the democrats and patriots and that the vanguard of the working class - its Marxist-Leninist Party - will be abreast of events.

It seemed necessary for me to advise you of the foregoing. It does not deal with my defense because if I had to do that before the courts of the dictatorship, I would know how to use it to address myself to the Brazilian people, explaining to them, in a detailed manner, the significance of this revolutionary period in which we are now living in our country. My defense is in Your Excellency's hand which is to say that it could not be in better hands. I wanted only to tell you of my activities and of the political orientation which was defended by the communists in the

years which preceded the (quartelada) of April 1, 1964.
Your Excellency may use any of this information which seems
to you to be proper.

and Reiterating my thanks, I sign myself your admirer

Friend and (Crd.º) Obligated

LUIZ CARLOS PRESTES.

F B I

Date: 10/6/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 10/6/66 there was received from Moscow, via radio, a ciphered-partially coded message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"1. Please give your suggestions as regards schedules for radio and walky talky for 1967.

"2. From GUS HALL:

"We got invitation to send one representative to Mongolian Komsomol conference which starts on 22 November. I recommend to send [redacted] CG 5824-S* will give details. He will return to U. S., if plans are not changed, somewhere after 11 October."

(The [redacted] mentioned above is believed to be [redacted] Bufile 100-432742, who is assistant to [redacted] Director.)

1-904

1-3 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-61

100-428091-5815

OCT 13 1966

WCM:msb
 (7)

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____

M

Per _____

65 OCT 14 1966 Special Agent in Charge

b6
 b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*
FROM : *Ed* F. Downing

DATE: October 11, 1966 *WJ*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/11/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS
HS:drv
(7) *W*

REC- 61

100-428091-5816
OCT 13 1966

EX-104

289
OCT 14 1966

SPECIAL RM.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *JS*

DATE: 10/10/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. R.C. Putnam

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen *JS*
Sullivan *JS*
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

This is to recommend that Special Agents Richard Hansen and Walter A. Boyle, who are the contacting Agents for CG 5824-S*, be authorized to proceed to informant's point of arrival in the United States from the 21st Solo Mission in order that debriefing of informant can be commenced without delay.

You will recall that CG 5824-S* departed from the United States 8/7/66, on Solo Mission 21 to accompany Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, during his visits with leading officials of the communist parties in the Soviet Union, satellite countries and other western European countries. We have received information indicating that the informant has participated in high-level discussions with the leaders of these various communist parties and that the informant expects to be returning sometime after 10/11/66. We have also learned that the informant has received instructions from Hall to convey information to the Communist Party, USA, leadership in the United States concerning these discussions. By airtel 10/7/66, Special Agent in Charge, Chicago, recommended that Special Agents Hanson and Boyle be authorized to proceed to the informant's point of entry into the United States as soon as specific information is received as to his destination. This will most likely be either Boston, Massachusetts, or New York City. The Special Agent in Charge, Chicago, noted that this action will enable the Agents to conduct discreet and secure debriefing and will enable us to have first access to what the informant considers to be the most pertinent intelligence data in his possession. If informant must conduct his discussions with the leadership of the Communist Party, USA, prior to contact by Bureau Agents, there will undoubtedly be an extensive delay in commencing the debriefing of informant. Special Agent in Charge, Chicago, estimated cost to the Bureau of such travel on the part of the contacting Agents to be \$358.76. *pl*

Enclosure - Sent 10-11-66

100-428091

1 - M. F. Row (6221 IB)

RCP:dmk

(6) dmle

65 OCT 14 1966

EX-104

REC-61 100-428091-5817

OCT 13 1966

CONTINUED-OVER

SPECIAL INQUIRY

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

OBSERVATION:

In view of the importance of the intelligence data informant should bring back, it is believed judicious to have the contacting Agents meet CG 5824-S*. Debriefing by two Agents is considered necessary in order to insure absolute completeness and accuracy of all information received. These two Agents are completely familiar with the names, places and events in the international communist movement and have, in the past, greatly facilitated the debriefing of informant. They will not depart for informant's point of entry until specific data is received concerning date of informant's arrival.

RECOMMENDATION:

That attached airtel be sent to Chicago authorizing Agents Hansen and Boyle to proceed to informant's point of arrival in the United States as soon as specific information in that regard is received.

[Handwritten signatures and initials]
✓

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/13/66

Airtel

1 - Mr. Baumgardner (Field
Supervision Folder)
1 - Mr. Shaw

To: SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

The Bureau desires to make the following observations in reference to the letterhead memoranda submitted by your office in captioned matter based on notes compiled by CG 5824-S*, which were brought back to the United States by CG 6653-S.

The letterhead memoranda pertaining to Gus Hall's conferences with leading officials of various communist parties have been submitted in the first person and in dialogue form. Cognizant as your office should be for the necessity to protect CG 5824-S*, it appears that no logical steps in that direction were taken in reporting the results of these conferences. You are reminded that it is of paramount importance in preparing material which is to be disseminated that meticulous care be taken to afford CG 5824-S* maximum protection by appropriately paraphrasing the information.

The majority of the information reported in the letterhead memorandum captioned "Communist Party of Soviet Union Document Entitled 'Soviet-Chinese Relations and Communist Party, Soviet Union Efforts to Normalize Them,' is identical with information previously furnished your office by CG 5824-S*. In view of the fact that much of the information developed in this case is disseminated to top officials of the Government, it is imperative that all memoranda be clear, concise and free of all extraneous data. In the event it is deemed necessary to report data previously submitted in order to provide a complete picture, such data should be briefly summarized.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

WGS:dmk
(5) *dmk*

MAILED 12
OCT 13 1966
COMM-FBI

EX-104

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO
5 OCT 14 1966

65 OCT 17 1966

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC 40 100-428091-5818

Airtel to Chicago
RE: SOLO
100-428091

The letterhead memorandum captioned [redacted] which was classified "~~Top Secret~~," contained information furnished by CG 5824-S* to the effect that [redacted] a Soviet citizen (identity unknown) and had now taken up residence in Moscow. For your information, the Department of State advised in July, 1966, that [redacted] to [redacted] and on 8/15/66, NY 694-S* advised that [redacted] had, in fact, [redacted] This information was disseminated under a "~~Confidential~~" classification to interested agencies. It is noted that contrary to the information furnished by CG 5824-S*, [redacted] has been residing in the New York City area since August, 1966, and expected to remain in the United States for at least the next six months.

b6
b7C

NOTE:

Chicago, in reporting information furnished by CG 5824-S* as a result of Solo Mission 21, has become lax in that it appears that a verbatim account of informant's information is being set forth in letterhead memoranda without any effort being made to paraphrase the information. Incidents have been noted where detailed data previously submitted has been repeated. These observations are being called to Chicago's attention so that in the future more care will be taken in the preparation of letterhead memoranda in this case.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/10/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

My memorandum of 9/9/66 set forth, in detail, receipts and disbursements of funds from the Soviet Union and Red China by the Communist Party, USA, during the month of August, 1966. The following schedule shows the present status of these funds together with disbursements during September, 1966.

SUMMARY:

Total received from Soviet Union	
9/58 to 9/30/66.....	\$4,178,193.49
Total received from Red China	
2/60 to 9/30/66.....	50,000.00
Grand Total received 9/58 to 9/30/66.....	\$4,228,193.49
Total disbursements to 9/30/66.....	2,863,725.08
Balance of Fund 9/30/66.....	\$1,364,468.41

\$1,243,467.03 by NY 694-S* in New York City
121,001.38 by CG 5824-S* in Chicago

DETAILS:

Total received from Soviet Union	
9/58 to 8/31/66.....	\$4,178,193.49
Total received from Red China	
2/60 to 8/31/66.....	50,000.00
Grand total received 9/58 to 8/31/66.....	\$4,228,193.49
Total disbursements to 8/31/66.....	2,849,725.08
Balance of Fund 8/31/66.....	\$1,378,468.41

DISBURSEMENTS DURING SEPTEMBER, 1966:

9/1/66 - To Helen Winter for "Political Affairs"..\$ 4,000.00
9/28/66 - To Jessica Smith for "New World Review".. 7,500.00

100-428091

EX-104

BCM:dmk
(5) dmk

5 OCT 14 1966

CONTINUED OVER

85 OCT 17 1966

SPEC. MAIL RM.

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

9/28/66-- To Helen Winter for Party's National
Office expenses.....\$ 1,000.00

9/28/66-- To Lem Harris; \$500 for Party invest-
ments and \$1,000 to reimburse [] for
money [] had used for Party invest-
ments..... 1,500.00

TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS DURING SEPTEMBER, 1966.....\$ 14,000.00

BALANCE OF FUND, SEPTEMBER 30, 1966.....\$1,364,468.41

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is submitted for your informa-
tion. An up-to-date accounting of Solo funds will be brought
to your attention each month. Details of the accounting of these
funds are not to be disseminated.

Handwritten signature

Handwritten signature

Handwritten signature

✓

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 9/30/66

FROM : Legat, Buenos Aires (105-359)(P)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS - C

On 9/27/66, CS [] furnished the attached article from "El Popular" (Popular), self-described organ of the Communist Party, published at Montevideo, Uruguay, edition of 9/19/66. Under the caption, translation of which reads, "The C.P. of the United States Calls for Unity of the Communist Movement," the article sets forth a statement made by HENRY WINSTON, President of the CP, USA, in the name of the leadership of that Party.

The article is being forwarded to the Bureau with the recommendation that consideration be given for its translation and that copies of the translation, if made, be forwarded to New York for its information and possible use.

CS [] has been instructed to remain alert for similar statements by the CP, USA, or its representatives in "El Popular" or other publications of the leftist press in Uruguay.

Source will be recontacted on next road trip to the latter country.

- 3 - Bureau (1 - Liaison) (Encl 1)
1 - New York
2 - Buenos Aires

REC-41

100-428091-5820

JEG/evs
(6)

EX-114

12 OCT 11 1966

Copy to NYO
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 10/12/66
by WCS/ham



5010-108

4 OCT 18 1966

349

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNRECORDED COPY IN 100-3-81

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: 9/29/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

PHIPS
SHR

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) captioned "NINTH CONGRESS, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, NOVEMBER, 1966."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was contained in a document received by CG 5824-S* and transmitted by CG 653-S to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE on 9/19/66.

In order to further protect the identity of the source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since the unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

100-428091-5821

- 1 and 904*
- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 6) (RM)
 - 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 3) (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago

RWH/mes
 (5)

EX-101

REC-30

OCT 4 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M Per _____

05 OCT 1 1966
 Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

The document and the official English translation thereof, on which the enclosed LHM is based, was transmitted by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party to the source while in Budapest, Hungary, 9/66. CG 5824-S* sent this document with CG 6653-S when the latter returned to the United States. A Xerox copy of the official announcement of the Ninth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, together with the official translation thereof prepared by the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, is also being enclosed herewith for the Bureau and for New York.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.
September 29, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

NINTH CONGRESS, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY, NOVEMBER, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in September, 1966, advised as follows:

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (HSWP) has announced that the Ninth Congress of the HSWP will be convened on November 28, 1966. However, only the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers Parties of the European capitalist countries are being invited to send fraternal delegations and/or representatives to this Congress. The other Communist and Workers Parties throughout the world are being advised of this Congress and it is hoped by the HSWP that they will, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and solidarity, send messages of greeting to this Congress.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~
~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5821

Budapest, 1966. augusztus 30.

Amerikai Egyesült Államok
Kommunista Pártja
Központi Bizottságának

Kedves Elvtársak!

A Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt Központi Bizottsága 1966 november 28-ára összehívta pártunk soronkövetkező IX. Kongresszusát.

Központi Bizottságunk úgy határozott, hogy pártunk sajátos helyzetéből kiindulva a Kongresszusra a szocialista országok pártjainak, valamint az európai kapitalista országok kommunista és munkáspártjainak küldöttségét vagy képviselőjét hívja meg.

Amikor fentiekről értesítjük Önöket, egyben szeretnénk kifejezni azt a reményünket, hogy az Önök pártjának Központi Bizottsága a proletárinternacionalizmus és a testvérpártok közötti szolidaritás jegyében levélben vagy táviratban üdvözli kongresszusunkat.

Elvtársi üdvözlettel

a Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt
Központi Bizottsága

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5821

Translation from Hungarian
30,8, 1966

Central Committee,
Communist Party of United States of America

Dear Comrades,

the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has convened the 9th Congress of our Party to meet on the 28 th of November, 1966.

Considering our circumstances, our Central Committee decided to invite representatives or delegations from the socialist countries and from the communist and workers' parties of the European capitalist countries.

While we are informing you of the above, we should - at the same time - like to express our hope that in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and solidarity between our fraternal parties the Central Committee of your Party will send a message of greetings to our Congress.

Fraternally yours,

the Central Committee,
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5821

7-11 (Rev. 2-18-63)

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

October 14, 1966

Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
IS - C

REGISTERED MAIL

a portion of

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter dated 9/28/66.

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Photostats of "Rude Pravo," issues 9/14 and 9/17 are returned herewith. Remaining foreign language material retained until completion of translation.

MAILED 12
OCT 13 1966
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - New York (100-134637) - Enclosures (2)

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. Baumgardner), sent direct with enclosures (2)

Enc. (8)

NOT RECORDED

6 OCT 18 1966

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

TRANSLATION FROM CZECH

"RUDE PRAVO," September 14, 1966, No. 254, page 1

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE C. P. U. S. A. IN PRAGUE

Comrade Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP, U. S. A., arrived in the CSSR this morning on the invitation of the Central Committee of the CPC (CP of Czechoslovakia). In the afternoon he and comrades accompanying him visited the Central Committee of the Party, where he had a friendly conversation with Comrade D. Kolder, member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC and Comrade V. Koucky, Secretary (sic) of the Central Committee of the CPC. Our comrades answered in particular the questions of the guest concerning the new system of management of the national economy and political-ideological work of the Party. During their stay in the CSSR, comrades will become acquainted with activities of our Party and the work of our people.

Gus Hall is an outstanding functionary of the American labor movement. He was born on October 8, 1910, in a worker's family, at Iron, Minnesota. He started working at the age of 14. He worked as a woodcutter, transport worker and construction worker. He joined the Communist Party, U. S. A. in 1927. In the thirties, he was at the head of the League of Communist Youth in the states of Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin and led marches of the unemployed, strikes and a movement against racism. During 1936-38, he was one of the leaders of the labor union movement of the steel workers, in the area of Pittsburgh and Youngstown. He led the strike of smelter workers which opened the road to the founding of the union in this industrial branch. During 1938-42 he directed local organizations of the Communist Party in Youngstown and, later on, in Cleveland. From the war years of 1942 to 1946, he served in the U. S. Navy in the Pacific.

TRANSLATED BY: *SN* 14

October 12, 1966

ENCLOSURE

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Already at that time he was elected a member of the National Committee (the Central Committee) of the CP, U. S. A. and in 1946, a member of its National Council (Politburo). One year later he became the Chairman of the Communist Party organization in the State of Ohio and in 1949, the Secretary of the National Committee of the Party. In the period of 1949-51, Gus Hall, together with other Party leaders, was put on trial and sentenced to 8 years of prison. He then spent 6 years in the Federal Prison of the state of Kansas. Upon his release in 1957, he was not permitted to engage in political activities for 3 years. In 1959, he again began to be active politically, and, at the Party Convention in December of that year, he was elected the General Secretary. Since 1962, he again faced the court prosecution on the basis of the anticommunist McCarran Act. At the last year's convention of the CP, U. S. A., he was again elected its General Secretary.

TRANSLATION FROM CZECH

"RUDE PRAVO," September 17, 1966, No. 257.

**GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE C.P., U. S. A., G. HALL AMONG
THE WORKERS OF PRAQUE TESLA**

Prague, September 16 (CTK) - On Friday morning, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U. S. A., G. Hall, visited the Tesla National Enterprise in Hloubetin. After being welcomed by the Director V. Dvorak and representatives of the CPC and ROH (Czechoslovak Labor Movement) at the enterprise and representatives of the MV and OV of the CPC, Comrade Hall talked with the Party and union officials from individual shops.

Mutual inquiries predominantly concerned economics and production as well as social questions and current problems of the Party and personnel work. Comrade Hall was keenly interested most of all in the practical experiences in the adoption of the improved system of management.

At the conclusion of the discussion, G. Hall signed the visitors' book and proceeded to inspect the factory.

"I am glad," said Comrade Hall at the beginning of his speech, "that I am among you, because I cannot imagine I could leave Czechoslovakia without meeting with its workers. After all, I would not dare to return to my own country without doing this."

Then he spoke about U. S. aggression in Vietnam and pointed out that he was proud of the fact that the majority of Americans disagree with the war policy of President Johnson's Government. "I am proud,"

TRANSLATED BY: *Jm*

October 12, 1966

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ENCLOSURE

100 - 438091 -

he said, "that during the past few years we had the most militant and broadest peace movement of all the capitalist countries and I assure you that it is not usual for Americans to oppose the policy of their Government."

Then Comrade Hall spoke about the living conditions in America because, he said, he was afraid that young people in the socialist countries, in particular, who never experienced capitalism, have no exact picture of this. Regardless of millions of cars, television sets and other products, the U. S. has a number of serious problems at present. Millions of people live below the level of what the Government calls the minimum living standard.

Comrade Hall informed the audience also about the work of the CP, U. S. A., the difficulties experienced by it in the past years, especially with regard to severe persecution of the Party and its leadership. In conclusion, he stressed the important part played by the workers of the socialist countries in the progressive education of the people in the capitalist states.

Participants of the meeting later approved the text of a protest resolution against U. S. aggression in Vietnam which was sent from the factory to the American Embassy in Prague.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. D. J. Brennan, Jr. *[Signature]*

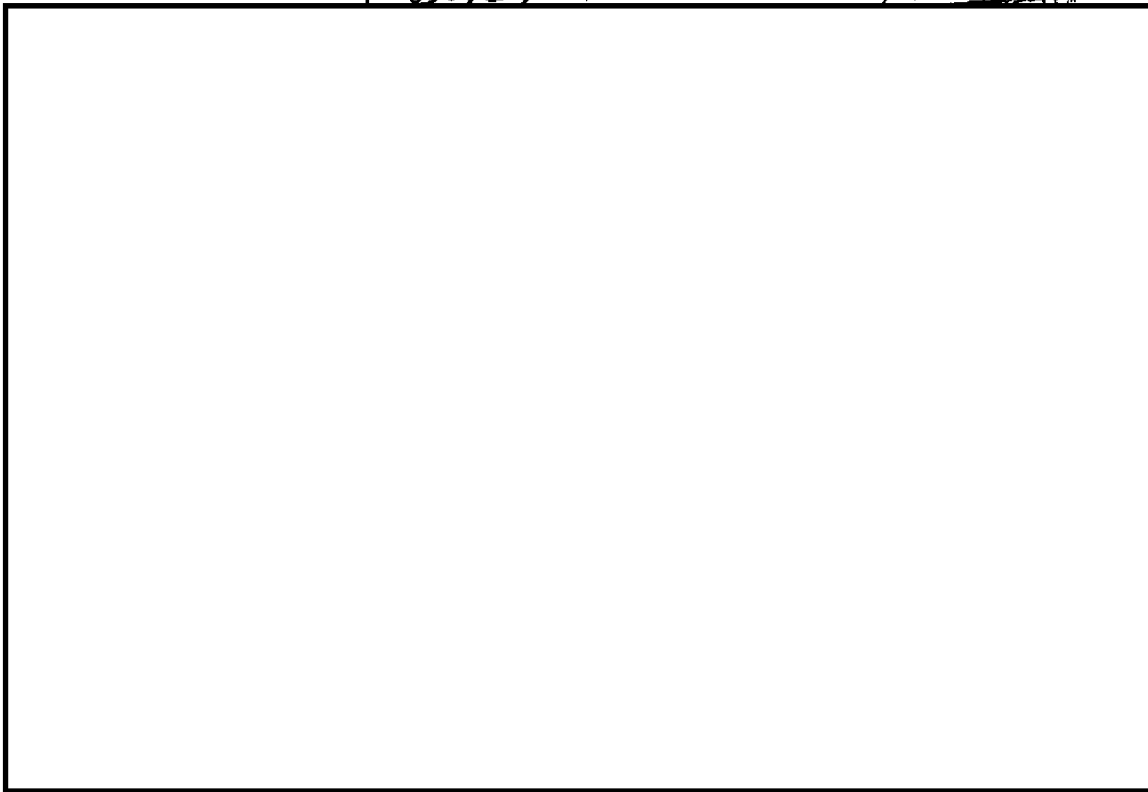
DATE: 10/4/66

FROM : S. J. Papich *[Signature]*

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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

SUBJECT: MIRIAM KAUFFMAN WILES
SECURITY MATTER - C

(90/0) Referral/Consult



105-25100

- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Papich

SJP:rab
(5)

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141 OCT 17 1966

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WGS Shaw

105-25100-106
ORIGINAL FILED IN

*Memo Forwarded to Mr. Brennan
10/16/66
WGS:WHP*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 10-7-66

FROM : Legal Attache, Ottawa (105-684) (P)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS - C
(OO: Bureau)

Reference: LHM dated 9-30-66, at Los Angeles, enclosed with Los Angeles airtel of same date in captioned matter.

Dissemination, as outlined below, was made on dates indicated to foreign agencies listed.

☒ Two copies of re LHM

☐ Pertinent information from

Name and Location of Agency

Date Furnished

☐ Ottawa, Canada

9-30-66.

b7D

3 - Bureau
(1 - Liaison Section)

1 - OTT
MLI:jhc
(4)

51 OCT 19 1966

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100-428091-
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3 OCT 14 1966

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

J. F. Bland

MIRIAM KAUFFMAN WILES
SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. J.F. Bland

1 - Liaison

10/11/66

1 - Mr. F.J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. S.J. Papich

1 - Mr. W.C. Shaw

1 - Mr. W.H. Floyd

Referral/Consult

We have been furnishing CIA on a continuing basis all pertinent information received concerning Wiles and Elizabeth Mascolo. Latent reports in each case, dated 9/8/66 and 9/27/66 respectively, have been furnished CIA. In addition, on 7/15/66, at CIA's request, we furnished that Agency information of a general nature concerning the operation of the international communist fund.

It is noted that our Solo case informants, NY 694-S* and CG 3824-S*, are deeply involved in the operation of the international communist fund and the subsidization of the Communist Party, USA, by the Soviet Union. The furnishing of more specific information to CIA concerning this matter could possibly lead to the uncovering of these valuable informants, especially if such information finds its way back to the Soviets or to the Communist Party, USA.

105-25100

1 - 100-332723 (Mascolo)

① - 100-428091 (Solo)

WGS:WHF:ajs
(10)

56 OCT 21 1966

100-428091
NOT RECORDED
170 OCT 18 1966

CONTINUED - OVER

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum J.P. Bland to W.C. Sullivan
RE: MIRIAM KAUFFMAN WILES
105-28100

It is felt that in this instance the security of NY 694-S* and CG 5824-S* and the apparatus which we have painstakingly built around them are of paramount importance. For this reason, we should advise CIA that we can furnish no further specific information at this time.

RECOMMENDATION:

That our liaison representative advise CIA that all pertinent information concerning Wiles and Mascolo has been furnished to that Agency and in the event additional information is received relating to them or the international communist fund, such information will promptly be furnished that Agency.

~~SECRET~~

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: October 13, 1966

1 - Mr. R.W. Smith
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Sh

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: ~~HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY~~
~~INTERNAL SECURITY - HUNGARY~~

The following information was furnished by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party recently announced that the Ninth Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party will convene on November 28, 1966. Only communist parties in European countries are being invited to send fraternal delegations to this Congress. The other communist parties throughout the world are being advised of this Congress in the hope that they will, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, send messages of greeting to this Congress.

1 - Director
Central Intelligence Agency

REC 20

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

WGS:dmk (7)

NOTE: Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation. Information in outgoing extracted from Chicago airtel 9/29/66, captioned "Solo, IS - C."

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~~SECRET~~

GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

NOV 1 1966

ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 10/13/66

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-35914)

ATTENTION: FBI ANNEX

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ml ReBulet dated 10/3/66 and CGlet to Bureau dated 9/28/66, requesting translations of Hungarian articles from Budapest published newspapers: "NEPSZABADSAG" and "MAGYAR NEMZET."

Copies of translations herewith being sent to Chicago, New York, and the Bureau, attention FBI Annex. The positive Photostats are herewith being returned to Chicago.

- 1d*
- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 4)
 - 2 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (Enc. 6) (RM)
 - 2 - New York (100-134637) (Enc. 4) (RM)
 - 1 - WFO

SS:ead
(8)

REC-110

ENCLOSURE
A
"ENCLOSURE ATTACHED"

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SEVEN



62 OCT 20 1966

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan.

TRANSLATION FROM HUNGARIAN

"NEPSZABADSAG" (People's Freedom)
Tuesday, September 13, 1966

(Front Page Items):

PICTURE CAPTIONED: Comrade KADAR Greets Comrade GUS HALL

JANOS KADAR RECEIVED THE USA COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION
The Delegation Visited the Ikarus Factory

JANOS KADAR, First Secretary of the Central Committee (KB) of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP), on Monday received the USA Communist Party delegation visiting our country under the leadership of Comrade GUS HALL, the Secretary-General of our American fraternal party.

The USA Communist Party delegation, GUS HALL, the Secretary-General of the Party, and ARNOLD JOHNSON, member of the Party central leadership, visited the Ikarus Body and Vehicle Factory on Monday afternoon. The guests were conducted by ISTVAN SZURDI, Secretary of the Central Committee of the MSZMP, and LAJOS ASZTALOS, Division Leader of the Central Committee.

An enthusiastic impromptu rally was held in the parts section of the #2 autobus complex, where KORNEL SZENTIRMAI, Ikarus Party Secretary, greeted the dear guests and GUS HALL addressed the participants:

"I feel especially good to be among you since I too am a working man. I am very happy to be visiting in Hungary and in this factory. I beg you to never forget the importance of your work for your achievements along with those of the other socialist countries prove the living capabilities of the socialist system," he said among other things and then emphatically: "The best news that I am able to convey to you is that the majority of the American people sharply condemn the Vietnam aggression being conducted by the JOHNSON administration. Through mass meetings and demonstrations, thousands of American people express their opposition to the Vietnam war. The American people, while struggling for the cessation of hostilities, also battle for their own interests and national honor."

In conclusion, GUS HALL expressed hope that his visit to Hungary would continue to strengthen the two people and the friendship between the two countries.

After the rally the delegates of the American Communist Party visited other parts of the factory. At the conclusion of the tour the delegation met in the factory conference room with the factory's party, economic and group leaders along with representatives of the workers. FERENC HIRT, Managing Director of Ikarus, advised the guests of the factory's past, its present production, and its future plans.

TRANSLATION FROM HUNGARIAN

"MAGYAR NEMZET" (Hungarian Nation)
Tuesday, September 13, 1966

(Item on Page Three):

JANOS KADAR RECEIVED THE AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTY DELEGATION

JANOS KADAR, Central Committee (KB) First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP), on Monday, received the USA Communist Party delegation, which is visiting in our country under the leadership of Secretary-General GUS HALL. During the meeting they exchanged ideas about the two parties and the position of the international communist movement. The talks took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

On Monday afternoon the delegation of the USA Communist Party visited the Ikarus Body and Vehicle Factory. The tour was led by ISTVAN SZURDI, Secretary of the KB of the MSZMP, and LAJOS ASZTALOS, Division Chief of the KB.

A rally held in the parts section of the #2 plant of the autobus complex was addressed by GUS HALL, who emphasized that the American workers, the great majority of the American people, sharply condemn the aggression against Vietnam waged by the JOHNSON administration.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/7/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
Attn: Cryptanalysis Section, FBI Laboratory

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

There are enclosed herewith one copy for the Bureau and one copy for New York of an article which appeared in the 9/30/66 issue of "Pravda," organ of the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union. This article concerns a meeting in the CC, CPSU, on 9/28/66 between GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, and LEONID BREZHNEV, MIKHAIL SUSLOV, and BORIS PONOMAREV of the Political Bureau, CPSU.

In view of the fact that CG 5824-S* in all probability participated in this meeting, the FBI Laboratory is requested to expeditiously prepare a full translation of this article and furnish copies thereof to the Chicago and New York Offices.

1-904 940 1cc + encl to FBI Laboratory
 ④-Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
 (1-FBI Laboratory)
 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1-Chicago

WAB:MDW
(6)

with encls (3)
 10/14/66
 TGM:cpp
 1-NY-enc

(FLM returned)

100-428091-
NOT RECORDED

6 OCT 11 1966

Approved: MDW
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

October 17, 1966

Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
IS - C

REGISTERED MAIL

a portion of

Attached is the translation which you requested by ~~letter~~ **XXXX airtel**
dated 9/28/66.

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Items #1, #2, #3, #4, #5, and #6 returned herewith. Remaining foreign language material retained until completion of translation.

MAILED 2
OCT 17 1966
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
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1 - New York (100-194637) - Enclosures (6)

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. Baumgardner), sent direct with enclosures (6).

TGM:jab (5)

Enc. (18)

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM

OCT 25 1966

NOT RECORDED

OCT 24 1966

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Article on Gus Hall appearing in the August 23, 1966 issue of "Leningrad Pravda."

MEETING AT THE METALLURGICAL PLANT

Gus Hall, ~~General Secretary~~ of the Communist Party of the United States and currently in our country on vacation at the invitation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was a guest in our city.

Yesterday comrade Gus Hall visited the "22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" Metallurgical Plant. Along with him were Obkom Party Secretary G. V. Romanov, Gorkom Party Secretary N. V. Merenitshev and other workers and Party members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Directors of the plant, Party and worker committees warmly greeted the esteemed guest and a meeting was held for comrade Gus Hall in the plant hall.

During the friendly conversation comrade Gus Hall showed a keen interest in the first results of the plant conversion to a new system of planning and material stimulus. A. A. Gruzdev, director of the plant and hero of Soviet labor, answered this question.

In one of the plants comrade Hall viewed the model of a new and powerful turbine which will be used in the Krasnoyarsk Hydro-Electric Power Plant. P. C. Chernyshev, chief engineer of the plant and "Hero of Soviet Labor," explained the workings of the turbine. In the hydro-turbine shop the director of the plant presented one of the oldest workers in the enterprise, I. P. Peselov, recently decorated with the "Order of Lenin," to Hall. In talking to Peselov, Hall showed an interest in the working conditions of the plant and then wished the worker new success.

At the dinner break in the plant a meeting attended by many people was held. V. V. Savin, secretary of the plant's Party committee, gave the welcoming speech:

TRANSLATED BY:

THOMAS G. MC LAUGHLIN:jab

October 11, 1966

ENCLOSURE

100-42091-

"Soviet people follow with great interest and feeling the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of the United States which is traveling along the wide road of mass political activity in a struggle for peace, for civil rights and for social progress. We know that the American communists must overcome unbelievable difficulties and operate in conditions of unending provocations and persecutions organized by the imperialist reactionists.

"The 28th Congress of your Party, which was characterized by the Congress of growth for your ranks, has become a glorious epic period in strengthening the unity of the United States Communist Party. It brought a valuable contribution to the strengthening of unity within the international communist and worker movement."

N. M. Savinov, an electrical technician, greeted Gus Hall and the entire working class of America on behalf of the plant's workers.

"We well understand how difficult it is for American communists to carry on their just and laudable struggle. You find yourselves in the very center of the world capitalist system, where monopolies constantly strengthen their exploitation of workers and where new chains of oppression are forged; therefore, all victories which the working-progressive segment of America achieve against the pressure of imperialism cause great joy both among the peoples of our country and among all honorable peoples on this planet.

"Like many worker-communists, I was a delegate at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I well understand with what interest and emotion we heard the speech of the United States Communist Party representative, Henry Winston, who talked about the goals of communists and workers in your country."

The speaker pointed out that the latest events have shown decisively that the Communist Party of the United States is growing stronger and stronger and that its influence on the working masses is increasing. The United States Communist Party is worthily achieving its national and international goals. Savinov pointed out that "no matter how much American imperialism rages, we firmly believe that a bright future in the United States of America is found only on those paths traveled by the working class and the Communist Party of your country. I had the opportunity to greet and talk with many Americans on a number of occasions. I belong to the number of those Soviet people who hugged

American workers dressed in military overcoats on the Elb in May of 1945. We value highly their great contribution to the defeat of German Fascism. Now their worthy successors are those simple American people who, despite repression, decisively refuse to take part in the dirty war in Vietnam and who with self-conviction fight against the aggression attempts of American imperialism."

Gus Hall then spoke to the accompaniment of great applause.

"Comrades! It is a great honor for me to be a guest of your plant, one of the oldest turbine-building enterprises in the Soviet Union."

Comrade Hall extended fraternal greetings from the working class and from communists in America to those participating in the meeting and warmly thanked the plant directors for the warm, friendly hospitality offered to him.

Then comrade Hall talked about how the United States Communist Party, despite persecution by American imperialists, is struggling for the interests of the working class in America and against the mad American imperialism which carries on a shameful, bloody war against the people of Vietnam.

"Millions of average Americans are now studying the works of Marx and Lenin and are carefully following the life of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries."

Gus Hall spoke further about the growth of influence of the Communist Party in the United States on the awareness of the American working masses.

"The last time I was in the Soviet Union was 1930, and great changes have occurred in the economic, political, and cultural life of the Soviet people during these years. You have progressed far along the path shown by Lenin."

Comrade Hall concluded his speech with a call for friendship between the working classes of America and the Soviet Union.

* * *

Helsinki, August 22. - Today, at the invitation of the Communist Party of Finland, the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Gus Hall, arrived from Leningrad for a three-day visit in Helsinki.

(Translator's Note: Caption under picture states as follows. "Comrade Gus Hall speaks at a meeting of workers from the metallurgical plant.")

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

The article on Gus Hall appearing in the August 18, 1966 issue of "Pravda."

WELCOME COMRADE GUS HALL

At the invitation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, comrade Gus Hall, arrived in Moscow for a vacation.

For many years the leading figure of the American Worker Movement, Gus Hall, was not able to leave the United States. U. S. authorities, having subjected communists to repression and persecution, also deprived them of their passports. As a result of a great protest campaign, leaders of the American Communist Party have received the opportunity to travel abroad. Thus comrade Hall is with us in Moscow.

On hand to greet comrade Gus Hall were comrades M. A. Suslov and V. V. Grishin, members of the Communist Party's Central Committee, and many representatives of Soviet society and press. Comrade Hall was asked to say something for "Pravda" readers, and he said:

"I have just arrived from the citadel of capitalism to the capital of triumphant socialism. I am deeply touched by this opportunity to visit your country. The last time I was able to visit the Soviet Union was 36 years ago. I am convinced that I will be able to see with my own eyes the great achievements in construction of a new, human society which the heroic Soviet people have achieved."

TRANSLATED BY: *Don*
THOMAS MC LAUGHLIN:jab
October 5, 1966

ENCLOSURE

108-425071-

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

The August 28, 1966 Issue of "Soviet Siberia."

COMRADE GUS HALL IN NOVOSIBIRSK

Yesterday comrade Gus Hall, ~~General Secretary~~ of the Communist Party of the United States, and presently in Novosibirsk, was greeted by district and city workers in the District Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

First Secretary of the Committee, F. F. Goryachev, discussed with his guest socialist construction in Siberia which has turned a once undeveloped region of Czarist Russia into a powerful region of industry, agriculture, culture and science. The achievements of the people of Novosibirsk are the results of militant organizational work on the part of the 120-thousand member communist organization marching at the front of the workers in this region.

The guest expressed great interest in problems of Party building, organizational-Party and ideological work and problems in training cadre. The interview took place in an atmosphere of warmth and friendship. To keep a memory of the meeting, Novosibirsk artists presented the guest with a portrait of the honorable representative, RSFSR society, I. V. Titkov.

The same day comrade Hall greeted workers from the "Efremov" plant.

The guest acquainted himself with the plant. N. K. Dybenko, secretary of the District Committee of the Party, and workers from the plant showed him the plant.

Comrade Hall greeted the workers, technicians and engineers and a meeting of the 1500 workers of the plant collective took place under the large arch of the plant.

TRANSLATED BY:

THOMAS G. MC LAUGHLIN *Thm*
October 10, 1966 *jjab*

ENCLOSURE

100-428011-

The meeting was opened by the Party Secretary of the plant, Ivan Pavlovich Kutuzov, who said:

"We greet the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, comrade Gus Hall, who has arrived in Novosibirsk, and in his name we greet all the communists of America who represent the best part of the great American people."

The floor was then given to the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America, comrade Gus Hall, who said:

"I am experiencing a very pleasant sensation in meeting face to face with the workers of Siberia. I am happy that I can bring to you the greetings of those Americans who fight against American imperialism and aggression in Vietnam and other areas. I bring you the greetings of the American working class which carries on a continuous struggle for their economic rights, and I bring you greetings from our youth, from those Negroes who are waging a struggle for civil rights and, finally, from our Communist Party.

"This is my first opportunity in 36 years to leave the boundaries of the United States, and I use this opportunity to congratulate the Soviet people on their historic contribution which they have brought to the cause of progress for mankind and for the cause of peace. I congratulate you not only because you have established the first socialist government in the world, but also because you have saved all mankind from the horrors of Fascism. I congratulate you for your contribution which you have made and continue to make for the national liberation struggle of nations. Without your assistance this struggle would be impossible.

"You - pioneers - are builders of a new society and the working class throughout the world follows after you and your work. In this manner, all your achievements in building a new society and fulfillment of plans are a truth of the life-capability of your system. On the other hand, bourgeois propagandists also follow and note each of your weaknesses. They magnify thousands of times over each inadequacy. If you do not fulfill your plan by even 1% they say that all the Soviet economy is falling apart.

"Naturally there is a great difference between these problems which you are resolving here and the problems which workers in the capitalist countries must face. In the capitalist countries nothing belongs to the worker - neither factory nor equipment. Every second that they work they know that someone is exploiting their labor, that someone is pressuring them. This creates an absolutely different relation to work and to life in general. Let us take the earning wage for workers in the United States. They say that it is high. However, you should know that 30% of it is taken in taxes. You should realize that 25% or more of the American worker's wages go for rent.

"Hate for American imperialism grows among peoples of the world. However, you should know that the majority of Americans is against aggression in Vietnam. We have people who set themselves on fire and who burn their draft cards. It is a fact that our young people prefer to go to prison rather than to fight.

"We hope that our trip to the Soviet Union, through Siberia, will serve to strengthen relations between our great peoples and our Communist Parties. This is an important factor in the struggle for progress and peace throughout the world."

The meeting was concluded to loud applause. The workers warmly bade good-by to comrade Gus Hall.

Later on in the day comrade Hall visited the "Kuzmin" metallurgical plant and that night he attended a hockey match.

(Translator's Note: Caption under picture: "General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Gus Hall, at Tolmachev Airport in Novosibirsk.")

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Article on Gus Hall appearing in the August 21, 1966 issue of "Leningrad Pravda."

GUS HALL IN LENINGRAD

Yesterday, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States and currently in our country on vacation at the invitation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, arrived in Leningrad.

He was greeted at the airport by G. V. Romanov, N. V. Merenitshev, A. P. Boykov, B. A. Popov and by other Communist Party and worker representatives.

Yesterday comrade Hall visited Smolyniy where he viewed the office V. I. Lenin. He was invited to the film entitled "Victory at Leningrad." Comrade Gus Hall was received by G. V. Romanov. Also taking part in the meeting were A. N. Shibalov, N. V. Merenitshev and other Party workers.

Comrade Hall visited Piskarev Memorial Cemetery where he laid a wreath at the "motherland" monument. On the wreath was written: To the heroic defenders of Leningrad who gave their lives in order to save civilization and mankind from the barbarism of Fascism. From the Communist Party of the United States and Gus Hall."

Photo: Gus Hall (center) General Secretary of the U. S. Communist Party at Leningrad airport.

TRANSLATED BY: *DM*
THOMAS MC LAUGHLIN:jab
October 6, 1966

ENCLOSURE

100-420011-

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

The article on Gus Hall appearing in the August 23, 1966 issue of "Komsomolskaya Pravda."

THE SILENT ONES ARISE

General Secretary of the United States Communist Party, Gus Hall,
Talks to Readers of "Komsomolskaya Pravda."

Many letters arrive at the editorial office of "Komsomolskaya Pravda" from readers asking what American youths are doing to force the United States Government to cease its shameful war in Vietnam. Recently we began to publish a documented story of an American, Ann Carter, entitled "A Girl from the DuBois Club," concerning the events and struggle of the current generation of American youth. Today we published notes from an interview with Gus Hall, General Secretary of the United States Communist Party.

Question: What are the distinguishing features of modern American youth?

TV ✓ Reply: The youth of the United States concentrate their efforts on problems of the modern era. As recently as the McCarthy hearings, U. S. youth had the name of the "silent ones." Now, a generation of rebels have replaced the silent generation. This new generation no longer wishes to conform with the existing situation. It protests and more and more actively takes part in the struggle for its social rights and to end aggression in Vietnam.

American students have actively joined in the struggle for the restoration of their rights in the university and for joining progressive labor unions. Several of these are beginning to interest themselves with problems of Marxism-Leninism. This was the basis for establishment of the "DuBois Clubs." Other organizations are also appearing.

TRANSLATED BY: *PH*
THOMAS G. MC LAUGHLIN:jab
October 13, 1966

ENCLOSURE

100-428511

The "DuBois Clubs" have become a very influential youth organization. Their founders have adopted a concise position in regard to Marxism-Leninism. They knew where they were going, as opposed to other youth organizations who could not determine their own path.

The Communist Party of the United States has established ties with all youth organizations. Their representatives were invited to our Congress. Actually, we have very close ties with the "DuBois Clubs," since they have adopted Marxist positions. This organization has become a true militant avant-garde of the youth movement. A large demonstration is to take place on August 27-28 in Washington. Many of the members of the "DuBois Club" have joined our Party. The fact that the young people have joined the Communist Party of the United States is a very important distinguishing feature of our time.

It should be pointed out that many American young people take part in other organizations supporting more limited goals, such as the Coordinating Committee for Ending the War in Vietnam, an organization which has staged many anti-war demonstrations in the country. The youth movement is quickly moving to the position of a conscious, anti-imperialist struggle.

Question: How strong is anti-war sentiment in the United States?

Reply: The majority of Americans either demonstrate against aggression in Vietnam or are neutral. In the United States there is no longer that military hysteria such as there was, for example, during the Korean War. It is not so simple now to act against the peace movement in the United States as it was during those years. Already for two years demonstrations have continued in the United States calling for an end to the dirty war in Vietnam. To demonstrate against this war is not so easy for American youth who do not have class consciousness. To set out on this path, Americans must overcome the feeling of official "patriotism" in their consciousness. Many think that demonstrations for peace are a knife in the back for Americans fighting in Vietnam. However, Americans of draft age know that the matter of their life or death is being resolved. They also know that because of the war the program of the war on poverty has been considerably curtailed and the number of scholarships and funds for construction of educational institutions have also been reduced.

On the pages of heroic self-sacrifice by Americans, demonstrating for peace in Vietnam, are written four self-immolations, which symbolize the sentiment of our people.

It takes great courage to burn one's draft card. However, this is precisely what several Americans who refuse to fight in Vietnam have done. We have facts which show that anti-war feeling is strong even among soldiers sent to Vietnam.

Question: Recently we heard that Chicago authorities had adopted a decision limiting the rights of participants in demonstrations for civil rights. Could you comment on this decision for the benefit of readers of "Komsomolskaya Pravda"?

Reply: The Civil Rights movement will meet more and more resistance from ruling circles in the United States because it involves the very foundations of the system currently existing in the country. It is one thing to fight for the right of Negroes to enter restaurants the same as whites. To demand work is quite another matter. Now, when the Civil Rights movement has grown to this level, it has begun to directly affect the interests of the magnates of capital. So much the more when the success of the coming election campaign will, in large degree, depend on the participants of this movement. The decision of which you speak clearly shows that it is necessary for us to think about the possibilities of resisting authority. The movement should take steps to strengthen its unity with the working class. The working class has the same goals as the Civil Rights movement. It is compelled to concern itself with political activity. The creation of a union of the working class and Negro movements would be the most important occurrence in the political arena of the United States. However, it is still only being thought about.

Question: Does there exist similar conditions for joining the Civil Rights movement with the movement for peace in Vietnam?

Reply: There are already facts of such a unity. Leaders of the Civil Rights movement demonstrate against the war in Vietnam. Among soldiers dying in Vietnam, a large percentage is Negro. A large percentage of Negro youths are unemployed. Negro youths are poorly educated and, therefore, they usually cannot take advantage of the military service deferments. Therefore, in relation to the white population of the United States, the proportion of Negroes fighting in Vietnam and dying in Vietnam is far greater. This is an additional factor forcing Negro leaders to demonstrate for peace.

✓ Question: In Leningrad, the Third International Student Summer Courses are now going on. In speeches by the many representatives of students from various countries we have heard words of praise for the exploits of Americans refusing to fight in Vietnam. In your opinion, what role can youth, especially students, play in strengthening international solidarity?

Reply: Extensive international campaigns of solidarity with the Vietnamese people and with the Americans who do not wish to fight must be organized.

For example, there might be organized a campaign for defending Americans on trial for refusing to fight in Vietnam. I believe that the student courses in Leningrad will assist in the strengthening of solidarity.

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Article on Gus Hall appearing in the August 22, 1966 issue of "Leningrad Evening Paper."

MEETING OF FRIENDS

Arrival of Comrade Gus Hall in Our City

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States and currently on vacation in the Soviet Union, has arrived in Leningrad.

Comrade Hall was met at the airport by the secretary of the Leningrad Regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, G. V. Romanov, Secretary H. V. Merenitshev, First Deputy of the Leningrad Executive Committee, A. P. Boykov, and B. A. Popov, chairman of the area labor organization, along with representatives of various city organizations.

On Saturday comrade Hall visited Smolyn where he viewed the office of V. I. Lenin. He was also shown the film "Victory at Leningrad." Comrade Hall was received by secretary Romanov and A. N. Shibalov, N. V. Merenitshev and Party workers.

Comrade Hall visited the Piskarev Memorial Cemetery where he laid a wreath at the "Motherland" monument. On the wreath was the following inscription: "To the heroic defenders of Leningrad who gave their lives in order to save civilization and mankind from the barbarism of Fascism. From the Communist Party of the United States and Gus Hall."

Yesterday comrade Hall made a trip to Razliv, to Leninist historical sites, to Petrodvorts, and he familiarized himself with the sites of Leningrad.

TRANSLATED BY: *gab*
THOMAS MC LAUGHLIN:jab
October 6, 1966

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-

Today comrade Hall warmly greeted workers of the metallurgical plant named "22nd Communist Party Congress." Along with him were G. V. Romanov, N. V. Merenitshev and Party workers. At the entrance to the plant the guests were greeted by plant director A. A. Gruzdev and by Secretary V. V. Savin and others.

V. V. Savin told about the history of the plant. Comrade Hall visited the shops and talked with the workers and engineers. Builders of power machinery greeted this outstanding communist and worker-leader warmly.

At 11:30 a.m. in the club of the plant there took place a mass meeting of workers. They warmly greeted the leader of the Communist Party of the United States and expressed their solidarity with the struggle of American workers for peace and against the aggressive war in Vietnam being conducted by U. S. imperialists. V. V. Savin and electrical technician N. M. Savinov talked on the above subject. They issued brotherly greetings to Gus Hall and his comrades.

Gus Hall gave a speech to the warmly cheering audience.

Gus Hall talked about the struggle of the Communist Party in the United States for the life interests of the American people, for peace, democracy and social progress.

Photo: Gus Hall (center) at Smolyn.

SAC, Chicago (100-46 Sub B)

October 14, 1966

Director, FBI (100-38091)

SOLO
IS-C

REGISTERED MAIL

Boyd

Attachment is translation which you requested by letter dated 10/7/66. ~~xxxx~~ airtel

MAILED 11
OCT 13 1966
COMM-FBI

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Returned herewith.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

1 - New York (100-134637) - **Enclosure**

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. Baumgardner), sent direct with enclosure.

TGM:cspeap

(5)

Enc. (3)

56 OCT 17 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ENCLOSURE

[Signature]

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Article on Gus Hall appearing in the September 30, 1966 issue of "Pravda," theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

MEETING IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

On September 28, comrade L. I. Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC, CPSU), comrade M. A. Suslov, Politburo member and Secretary, CC, CPSU, and B. N. Ponomarev, Secretary CC, CPSU, received comrade Gus Hall, General Secretary of the U. S. Communist Party.

During the meeting, which took place in the atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding which characterizes relations between the CPSU and the U. S. Communist Party, there took place an exchange of views involving a wide range of issues of mutual interest.

During the course of the meeting, the representatives of the CPSU and U. S. Communist Party both underlined the fact that during the present time, U. S. Imperialism, which is the center of world reaction, is attempting with all its strength, including armed force, to hinder the progressive development of mankind and undermine the liberation struggle of peoples. The aggressive activities of U. S. ruling circles, their interference in the internal affairs of other countries and their open and cynical support of reactionist and dictatorial regimes and groups represent in themselves a basic threat to the general peace, and are in opposition to the national interests of the American people and peoples of all countries.

Both parties again expressed the unchanged position of resolute condemnation of U. S. Military aggression in Vietnam and the criminal activities of American soldiers against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the people of South Vietnam, and expressed their complete solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people in defense of freedom and independence, and for the unification of their country. Both sides again affirmed their support of proposals by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front as a just basis for a political settlement of the Vietnamese problem in complete accord with existing agreements of the Geneva convention of 1954 on Vietnam.

TRANSLATED BY: *DM*
THOMAS MCLAUGHLIN, JR.:trs
October 12, 1966

100-428671-
ENCLOSURE

The representatives of the CPSU and the U. S. Communist Party emphasized, in particular, that unity in action by all anti-imperialist, peace-loving and democratic forces and the world communist movement in support of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression, in the interest of developing the struggle for maintaining and strengthening general peace and security of the people, is a primary goal. They stated that they would spare no effort in making their contribution to the cause of unifying the international communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. During the present time, the active struggle for Marxist-Leninist purity and international proletarian principles, and the conversion of them into practice, are of especially important significance.

During the meeting, comrade Hall pointed out that the majority of Americans wish peace and do not support the cruel war of aggression by the US against the people of Vietnam.

Comrade Hall also gave his impressions of his trip through the Soviet Union, highly praising the achievements of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people in building Communism. He also praised the unwavering support of the Soviet Union for the liberation struggle of peoples for their independence and the inalienable right to determine their own fate. Hall emphasized the great role of the USSR in the struggle against the aggressive policies of imperialism and for the strengthening of the general peace, a policy of peaceful coexistence among nations with different social structure and the averting of a world nuclear war. Hall expressed the opinion that his trip to the USSR would strengthen the struggle for peace and the development of friendly relations between the peoples of the USSR and the USA.

On their part, the representatives of the CPSU discussed the building of communism in the USSR and the activity of the CPSU. They expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the American communists for peace, democracy and social progress, and they highly praised the contribution of the Communist Party of the United States to the struggle for unity in the international communist movements.

The representatives of both parties expressed faith in the conclusions drawn at the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the communist and working parties, and they reaffirmed their intention of developing friendly and fraternal relations between the CPSU and the US Communist Party based on Marxist-Leninist and international proletarian principles.

The exchange of views showed complete concurrence in the viewpoints of both parties on all principle, current issues.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

10/19/66

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner (Field Supervision Folder)
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

To: SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReBuairtel 10/13/66 setting forth certain observations concerning letterhead memoranda prepared by your office in captioned matter. Reurtelecall 10/17/66, requesting clarification of that portion of reBuairtel having to do with the reporting of information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

Of paramount concern in the Solo operation is (1) The accurate reporting of the extremely valuable intelligence data developed, and (2) the protection of the informants in this operation whose activities place their lives in jeopardy. The Bureau feels that the letterhead memoranda submitted by your office covering the conversations between Gus Hall and foreign communist officials while satisfying the objective of accurate reporting left much to be desired in protecting the security of CG 5824-S*. These memoranda submitted in the first person and in dialogue form made it clear that we had a source present during the conversations, since obviously it could not be assumed that we may have had technical coverage in the Kremlin or in satellite countries. The Bureau called this deficiency to your attention in reBuairtel to enable you to work out a better method by which both of our objectives can be attained. For example, the data could have been reported in such a manner that the source conceivably could have been one having access to a report Gus Hall may have submitted to Communist Party, USA, headquarters. This type of reporting would have accurately conveyed the information without making it evident we had a source present during Hall's actual conversations with foreign communist officials.

MAILED 2
OCT 19 1966
COMM-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

WGS:dmk
(5) dmk

EX 109
REC 54

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

100-428091-5824
6 OCT 20 1966

OCT 25 1966

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to Chicago
RE: SOLO
100-428091

In order to resolve this problem, the Bureau desires that in the future when reporting conversations, such as those referred to in reBuairtel, the Bureau be furnished a Xerox copy of the notes or information made available by CG 5824-S* concerning this particular activity along with a clear and concise summary set forth in letterhead memorandum form. Such action will enable you to fulfill both of your objectives and will enable the Bureau to insure that the correct interpretation has been made in the summarized information. This, of course, requires some ingenuity and imaginative thinking to develop a good approach within the framework of objectivity and good judgement.

In this regard, too, the Bureau desires to bring to your attention the fact that considerable newspaper publicity, particularly in "The Worker," has been given to Gus Hall's "world tour." In view of this, it will be incumbent upon your office to closely scrutinize all information furnished by CG 5824-S* in order to ascertain whether this information has appeared in the public press. It is necessary that this action be taken in order that the Bureau will not be placed in the embarrassing position of disseminating information under a security classification which has already appeared in the public press.

NOTE:

CG 5824-S* recently returned from Solo Mission 21. While on this mission, informant was in the company of CPUSA leader Gus Hall during conversations carried on with various foreign communist officials in the Soviet Union and satellite countries. In reporting on these discussions, Chicago submitted lengthy letterhead memoranda written in the first person and in dialogue form, making it obvious that we had an informant with Hall. The memoranda also contained a great deal of extraneous material. These derelictions were brought to Chicago's attention in reBuairtel in order that this undesirable method of reporting could be corrected. Chicago has requested clarification as to how it could best accomplish this and the outgoing sets forth specific steps to be followed in that regard.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*

DATE: October 18, 1966

FROM : C. F. Downing *CFD*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/18/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS
HS:drv
(7) *HS*

REC 54

100-428091-5825

OCT 20 1966

REC'D - 311 EX-10

OCT 18 4 20 PM '66

HY
65 OCT 25 1966

ROUTE TELETYPE UNIT

OCT 16 1966

ENCODED MESSAGE

WA 1- 7:03 PM CDT EH

URGENT 10-16-66 EH

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON -ENCODED

FROM CHICAGO (134-46 SUB B) /7P/

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

SOLO; IS-C

CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR -S ASTRISK RETURNED TO CHICAGO WITHOUT INCIDENT OCT. FIFTEEN LAST FROM TWENTYFIRST SOLO MISSION WHICH BEGAN AUG. SEVEN LAST.

PURPOSE OF MISSION WAS TO ACCOMPANY GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, ON WORLD TOUR AND DISCUSSIONS WITH LEADERS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. SOURCE PARTICIPATED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH NUMEROUS WORLD COMMUNIST LEADERS INCLUDING FOLLOWING: LEONID I. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION; MIKHAIL A. SUSLOV, MEMBER, POLITICAL BUREAU AND SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPSU; BORIS N. PONOMAREV, SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPSU; TODOR ZHIVKOV, PREMIER AND FIRST SECRETARY OF BULGARIAN CP; ANTONIN NOVOTNY, PRESIDENT AND FIRST SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA; WALTER ULBRICHT, CHAIRMAN OF STATE COUNCIL AND FIRST SECRETARY, END PAGE ONE

EG 40/00-428091-5826

EX-108

6 OCT 21 1966

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

ELAYED TO NY, FTB

5 OCT 1966

PAGE TWO

SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY; JANOS KADAR, CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND FIRST SECRETARY, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY; YUMZHAGIN TSEDENBAL, CHAIRMAN OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AND FIRST SECRETARY OF MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY; WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY, POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY; NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ROMANIA.

AMONG INTELLIGENCE OBTAINED, SOURCE NOTED FOLLOWING OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE:

ONE, CPSU LEADERSHIP--NO QUESTION REMAINS THAT BREZHNEV IS NOW UNDISPUTED LEADER IN USSR. HE AND HIS GROUP HAVE CONSOLIDATED CONTROL OF BOTH CPSU AND GOVT OF USSR. MORE MILITANT SOVIET LEADERS SUCH AS THOSE ADVOCATING RETURN TO HARD LINE OF STALINISM, INCLUDING ALEKSANDR N. SHELEPIN, MEMBER OF PB AND SECRETARY OF CC, CPSU, AND VLADIMIR SEMICHASTNY, CHAIRMAN OF KGB, HAVE LOST INFLUENCE. BREZHNEV GROUP REPRESENTS MORE MODERATING INFLUENCE IN LEADERSHIP OF USSR.

TWO, VIETNAM--WAR IN VIETNAM CONSTITUTES NUMBER ONE PROBLEM AND IS OF OVERRIDING CONCERN TO ALL COMMUNIST

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

LEADERS. GUS HALL PRESENTED TO EACH PARTY CPUSA POSITION THAT THERE IS NO HOPE OF MILITARY VICTORY IN VIETNAM BY EITHER NORTH VIETNAM OR US. HALL URGED FLEXIBLE TACTICS TO SEEK POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY STRUGGLE ON QUESTION OF VIETNAM. IN ESSENCE, HALL WAS COUNSELING NEGOTIATIONS AS SOLUTION TO VIETNAM AND STATED THAT "KEY TO POLITICAL STRUGGLE IS IN HANDS OF NORTH VIETNAMESE" WHO MUST AGREE TO NEGOTIATIONS. HALL'S ARGUMENTS MET GENERAL AGREEMENT FROM LEADERS OF USSR, BULGARIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, EAST GERMANY, HUNGARY, AND MONGOLIA; HOWEVER, POLAND AND ROMANIA REJECTED THIS CONCEPT AND ATTACKED HALL AS "CAPITULATOR".

ADAMANT ATTITUDE OF SU IS THAT NO ACCOMMODATIONS CAN BE REACHED WITH US WHILE VIETNAM WAR CONTINUES. WHILE SU DOES NOT WANT TO SEE WAR ESCALATED AND WIDEN, THEY ARE NOT UNHAPPY THAT US IS "BOGGED DOWN" IN WAR AND DISSIPATING SOME OF FORCES WHILE SU IS NOT. ATTITUDE IS TO LET US "GET ITSELF BLOODIED" WHILE USSR SITS BACK AND SUPPLIES AID BUT WILL STEP IN ONLY WHEN REST OF SOCIALIST CAMP THREATENED. ACCORDING TO BREZHNEV, SU HAS "NO DESIRE TO FIGHT SOMEONE ELSE'S WAR," THAT IS, CHINESE WAR AS HE SEES IT. NEVERTHELESS, USSR IS UNDER HEAVY

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

PRESSURE FROM ITS ALLIES TO TAKE MORE ACTIVE MILITARY ROLE AND PRESSURE IS INCREASED BECAUSE OF CHINESE EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE SOVIET POSITION IN WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT UNDER APPARENT INACTION IN FACE OF ATTACK ON SOCIALIST COUNTRY. THEREFORE, CONTINUATION OF PRESENT COURSE BY USSR CANNOT BE DEPENDED UPON.

ACCORDING TO CEAUSESCU OF ROMANIA, DURING WARSAW PACT MEETING IN ^BUCHAREST, LAST JULY, SOME OF COUNTRIES WERE INSISTING THAT USSR DEMONSTRATIVELY WITHDRAW FROM GENEVA DISARMAMENT CONFERENCES ON GROUNDS THAT CONFERENCE IS FRAUD AND USSR CANNOT TALK DISARMAMENT WHILE US IS BOMBING AND KILLING IN VIETNAM. FURTHERMORE, SAME COUNTRIES INSISTED THAT USSR SEND ULTIMATUM TO US AS WAS DONE AT TIME OF SUEZ INVASION STATING THAT IF US DID NOT CEASE PRESENT AGGRESSION IN VIETNAM, US WILL MEET "ARMED MIGHT AND ROCKETS OF SU." CEAUSESCU STATED PARTICIPANTS IN WARSAW PACT MEETING "BATTLED" FOR FOUR DAYS BEFORE ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM COULD BE ASSEMBLED. AT BUCHAREST MEETING, SOME COUNTRIES, INCLUDING ROMANIA AND POLAND, CHARGED THAT SOME PARTIES, MEANING CPSU, WERE COUNSELING NORTH VIETNAMESE TO CAPITULATE.

PAGE FIVE

IN DISCUSSION WITH GOMULKA OF POLAND, HE FOLLOWED SAME
LINE AS ROMANIANS. GOMULKA URGED MORE MILITANT ACTION BY
USSR. CEAUSESCU CHARACTERIZED GOMULKA'S ATTITUDE BY QUESTION
"IF POLAND ATTACKED BY US, WOULD USSR MERELY SEND NOTE OF PROTEST
ALSO?" GOMULKA COMPLETELY DISAGREED WITH HALL'S ASSESSMENT OF
GROWING PEACE FORCES IN US. STATED US PEOPLE DISSATISFIED WITH
PRESIDENT JOHNSON ONLY BECAUSE HE IS NOT WINNING WAR, NOT BECAUSE
OF US IN WAR. GOMULKA BELIEVES MAJORITY OF US PEOPLE SUPPORT
JOHNSON VIETNAM POLICY AND COMPARED US PEOPLE TO GERMAN PEOPLE
WHO CRITICIZED HITLER ONLY BECAUSE WAR WAS LOST.

ACCORDING TO SOURCE, DOMINANT CONCERN OF MOST EUROPEAN
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS WESTERN BORDER. THUS, THEY ARE CONCERNED
THAT IF USSR DOES NOT ESCALATE SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM,
US WILL BELIEVE IT CAN ATTACK SOCIALIST STATES IN EUROPE WITH
IMPUNITY. MOST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES FAVOR ESCALATION
OF VIETNAM CONFLICT SHORT OF NUCLEAR WAR. ALTHOUGH ATTACKING
SO-CALLED US ESCALATION, AND AT SAME TIME TRYING TO BROADEN
ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CONTACTS WITH US, SOCIALIST COUNTRIES
FAVOR ESCALATION THROUGH ACTIVE USSR MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN
END PAGE FIVE

P

AGE SIX

VIETNAM AND SOURCE STATES THAT POLAND AND ROMANIA ARE SHARPEST AND MOST MILITANT ON THIS POLICY.

ON OCT. FOURTEEN LAST, SOURCE MET WITH VLADCKOUCKY, SECRETARY OF CC, CPCZ, WHO JUST RETURNED FROM MISSION TO HANOI WITH CZECH PRIME MINISTER JOZEF LENART, CZECHS PRESENTED POSITION TO VIETNAMESE IDENTICAL WITH POSITION CPUSA. VIETNAMESE GAVE NO ANSWER TO CZECH PROBING OF ATTITUDES ON THIS SUBJECT. HO CHI MINH AND PHAM VAN DONG LISTENED AND SAID, "WE WILL THINK ABOUT IT." ACCORDING TO KOUCKY, CHINESE INFLUENCE HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED IN HANOI SINCE LAST AUG. AND PREDOMINATES IN VIETNAM ARMED FORCES. HO AND PHAM REJECTED ANY CZECH STATEMENT CRITICAL OF CHINESE ACTIONS RE VIETNAM OR DOMESTIC "CULTURAL REVOLUTION." KOUCKY STATED THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND USSR HAVE REACHED CONCLUSION THAT VIETNAM PLEDGE TO CONTINUE FIGHTING FIVE, TEN, OR TWENTY YEARS LONGER MUST BE BASED UPON PROMISE FROM CHINA TO INTERVENTE MILITARILY AT SOME POINT IN STRUGGLE.

THREE, INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MEETING--DURING SEPT. BREZHNEV ADVISED ~~WHAT~~ RESOLUTION TO CALL INTERNAT'L MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES WILL BE PRESENTED TO FORTH-
END PAGE SIX

PAGE SEVEN

COMING PLENUM OF CPSU. POSITION OF CPSU IS THAT WORLD SITUATION REQUIRES INTERNAT'L MEETING EVEN IF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND ITS FEW ALLIES DO NOT ATTEND.

FOUR, CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR -S ASTERISK PRESENTED CPUSA REQUEST FOR FINANCIAL SUBSIDY FOR NINETEEN SIXTYSEVEN IN AMOUNT OF ONE MILLION SEVEN HUNDRED FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, REQUEST WAS STILL UNDER STUDY WHEN HE DEPARTED.

DEBRIEFING OF SOURCE CONTINUES COMMENSURATE WITH HIS FATIGUE AND POOR PHYSICAL CONDITION RESULTING FROM THIS ARDUOUS MISSION, AND RESULTS WILL BE FURNISHED TO BUREAU EXPEDITIOUSLY BY LHM.

END

-247-6

MSE

FBI WASH DC FOR RELAY

cc: Mr Sullivan

F B I

Date: 10/11/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
Attn: Cryptanalysis-Translation Section
FBI Laboratory

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

On 10/7/66 the Chicago Office received through the NORMA HANSEL mail drop, Post Office Box 7363, Chicago, Illinois, a communication from CG 5824-S*, postmarked 8/25/66, Moscow. The foregoing communication contained pages 1 and 2 of the 8/18/66 issue of "L'Humanite," the official organ of the Central Committee, CP of France, a daily newspaper. The source's obvious purpose in transmitting this portion of the 8/18/66 issue of "L'Humanite" was to provide the Bureau with printed coverage of GUS HALL's activities during a stopover in Paris, France, on 8/17/66, while HALL was en route to Moscow. Pages 1 and 2 of this issue of the newspaper contain articles relative to HALL's arrival in Paris and also an interview with HALL by a staff representative of the newspaper.

A positive photostat of the above-noted pages 1 and 2 of the 8/18/66 issue of "L'Humanite" have been prepared and are enclosed herewith for the Bureau, and the New York Office.

④ Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
(1 - FBI Laboratory)
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(2-M. returned)

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED

OCT 14 1966

COPY AND SEND TO BUREAU
FOR LAB ACTION AND REPORT

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CG 134-46 Sub B

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

The FBI Laboratory, Cryptanalysis-Translation Section, is requested to prepare a full text translation of the marked articles on pages 1 and 2 of the enclosed positive photostat of the 8/18/66 issue of "L'Humanite." It is further requested that both the New York and Chicago Offices be furnished with copies of the translation of the noted articles when completed by the Bureau.

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

(IS) 100-428091

BY LIAISON

Date: October 19, 1966

1 - Mr. R.W. Smith
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

To: Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: ~~HELGA WEIGERT OHLWERTHER~~
INTERNAL SECURITY - EAST GERMANY

The following information provided by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

The captioned individual, who is more commonly known as Helga Lohr, was born on April 10, 1910, at Berlin, Germany. She departed from the United States as a stateless person on September 7, 1951. Helga Lohr is the correspondent in the German Democratic Republic for "The Worker," a United States east coast communist newspaper. Lohr had succeeded her husband, George Lohr, who held this same position until his death in 1964. *MRS*

In September, 1966, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany registered a complaint with the Communist Party, USA, concerning the conduct of Helga Lohr. According to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Lohr has been a source of a good deal of trouble resulting in part from her excessive drinking at press conferences, which was described as "worse than bourgeois correspondents." Lohr was also characterized as being "lighthheaded" and displaying no political understanding whatsoever. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany urged that Lohr be replaced and noted that she was not the type of person who should be carrying the credentials of "The Worker" and the Communist Party, USA.

The Communist Party, USA, agreed that the complaint of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was valid. As a result, the Communist Party, USA, instructed that Helga Lohr be immediately dismissed from the position of correspondent in the German Democratic Republic.

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GROUP 1

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(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

WGS:dmk

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65 OCT 25 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

Director
Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State

Because of the sensitive nature of the source which made this information available, this communication is classified "~~Top Secret~~/No Foreign Dissemination."

1 - Director BY LIAISON
Central Intelligence Agency

Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

TO
CIA
10/30/66
PBB

b6
b7c

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Data extracted from Chicago airtel 9/30/66, captioned "Solo, IS - C." Helga Lehr formerly resided in San Francisco area until she was deported in 1951. While in the United States, she was active in the affairs of the CPUSA.

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

Ryan

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

October 18, 1966

Director, FBI (100-428091) -

SOLO
IS-C

B. S. [unclear]
[unclear]

REGISTERED MAIL

Attached is the translation which you requested by letter dated 10/11/66. **XXXX airtel**

MAILED 7
OCT 17 1966
COMM-FBI

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Returned herewith.

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1 - New York (100-134637) - Enclosure

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. Baumgardner), sent direct with enclosure.

TGM:jab

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Enc.

ENCLOSURE

INJECT DIA
KFFD

05 OCT 1966 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

Article on Gus Hall appearing in the August 18, 1966, issue of "L'Humanite."

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IS VULNERABLE

World Protest Against Aggression in Vietnam Can Deliver It An Effective Blow, says Gus Hall, General Secretary of U. S. Communist Party.

Gus Hall, General Secretary of the U. S. Communist Party is currently in Paris, the second stage of his trip around the world, during which he will visit the Soviet Union.

This is the first time in 35 years that Gus Hall has been able to leave the U. S. and go abroad. Up to now the American government has systematically refused to grant him a visa.

Before arriving in Paris, Hall took part in the Communist Party of Uruguay's Congress held in Montevideo.

Hall told us that "the strongest impression that I have received in this country is that of the massive and profound hostility of the population against American imperialism. It is even more massive and profound than I imagined, and I have discovered in numerous conversations that his hostility is shared by people with conservative ideas.

"I even met people who, while condemning to me the aggression in Vietnam, expressed their surprise that there existed 'good Americans.'"

Speaking on the Vietnam war, Hall stated that it "is the most important political problem for the United States.

"This time the United States has no fighting allies, but then again it has no allies who will share the great profits realized by the business world in this war.

TRANSLATED BY: *THM*
THOMAS MCLAUGHLIN, JR.:trs *Jrs*
October 17, 1966

100-428091-
ENCLOSURE

"The war is producing disastrous results in the United States. The most serious is an unprecedented inflation currently raging in the country. Prices are rising out of control and taxes continue to climb,

"The American people are becoming more and more concerned by the threat which the war is bringing to their way of life. The airline machinists' strike is an example.

✓ "However, political aggression affects not only the workers. It is also contrary to the interests of certain groups of capitalists.

✓ "During my trip I am insisting on the necessity of developing the protest of public opinion throughout the world against American aggression. I believe that American imperialism is now vulnerable to a greater degree on the political plane than on the military. It is very sensitive to world opinion."

Question: It is said that Johnson seeks a military success in Vietnam before the election so as to reinforce the position of the Democrats. Do you think that a new escalation would be "useful" from this point of view?

(Hall's) Reply: "A new stage of escalation would result in a loss of votes for the Democrats, since the great majority of American opinion is either neutral or hostile to the policy of aggression.

"It is significant that, as opposed to the Korean War, nobody has succeeded in creating in the U. S. a movement in favor of aggression, nor a war hysteria.

✓ "The bombing raids on Hanoi and Haiphong, it goes without saying, were supposed to reinforce the Democrats in the elections, but they have succeeded only in weakening Johnson's position."

Question: Is there congressional opposition to Johnson's policy?

(Hall's) Reply: About fifty legislators, including Senators Kennedy, Fulbright, Morse, Gore and MacGovern have taken a position against escalation. This opposition is the reflection of the evolution of American public opinion and also the splits between capitalist groups. A part of business, with good reason, thinks that a pursuit of the Vietnam war will lead the United States to a disaster.

Senator Kennedy has seized this opportunity to break away from Johnson and reinforce his chances of one day becoming a candidate for the White House.

✓ Y "In the coming November elections, the Communist Party has decided to support all candidates (there are about 200) who have taken a position clearly in favor of peace and negotiations. In certain contests, the Communist Party will present its own candidates for the House of Representatives, notably in Chicago, Milwaukee, San Francisco and New York (Brooklyn)."

Gus Hall then spoke briefly in favor of the Civil Rights Movement. We asked him especially if the theme "Black Power," advanced so often recently by Negro leaders, has caused serious splits within the movement.

Hall said that "it would seem an exaggeration to speak of fundamental differences. The theme 'black power' is justified in the areas where the colored population is in the majority and where, therefore, colored candidates can be elected to the posts of mayor or to police or court positions.

"However, outside of these areas, all colored leaders should agree on the necessity of cooperating with progressive and liberal elements of the white population. Colored leaders know perfectly well that the colored population represents but 10% of the total population and that there can be no 'black power' on a national scale."

Gus Hall stated that "the problem in the black ghettos is to find organizations capable of making the anti-racist struggle effective. It would require at least 10 to 15 billion dollars, which is annually appropriated to the military budget, to finance vast social and economic programs. However, the famed Johnson program of "War on Poverty" is now dead, the victim of the war policy in Vietnam."

Upon his arrival in Paris, on Tuesday afternoon, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States was greeted at Orly airport by our comrades Rene Piquet, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, and by Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, member of the Central Committee.

Gus Hall was accompanied by his family and by Arnold Johnson, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

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TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 10/20/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

My memorandum of 10/17/66 in captioned matter, (attached) recommended that memorandum entitled "Latest Developments in the International Communist Movement" containing data obtained by CG 5824-S* on informant's recent Solo mission in the Soviet Union and satellite countries, be disseminated to the White House and Acting Attorney General. Mr. Tolson noted: "Send copy to Secretary of State." The Director noted: "Yes, H."

There is attached for dissemination by cover letter to the Secretary of State a copy of the memorandum "Latest Developments in the International Communist Movement".

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached memorandum captioned, "Latest Developments in the International Communist Movement" be sent to the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, by cover letter.

Enclosure

100-428091

WGS:dmk
(6) dmk

REC-111

100-428091-5828
6 OCT 25 1966

5 OCT 31 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

October 17, 1966

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

The following information was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

During the period of mid-August, 1966, to mid-October, 1966, Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, was on tour in the Soviet Union and satellite countries. On this trip, Hall conferred with numerous world communist leaders including Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary, Polish United Workers Party; Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary, Communist Party of Romania; Janos Kadar, First Secretary, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary, Communist Party of Bulgaria; Antonin Novotny, First Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; and Yunshagin Tsedenbal, First Secretary, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. There are set out herein the high lights of Hall's discussions with these communist leaders.

Vietnam Situation:

The war in Vietnam is of overriding concern to all communist leaders. Gus Hall, in presenting the position of the Communist Party, USA, took the position that there is no hope of military victory by either side in Vietnam; and that the only solution is for the participants to agree to negotiations. Hall's arguments in this regard met with general agreement from leaders of the Soviet Union and most of the satellite countries. However, the leaders of Romania and Poland rejected this concept and attacked Hall as a "capitulator."

The leadership of the Soviet Union is adamant that no accommodations can be reached with the United States while the war in Vietnam continues. The Soviet leaders, while not favoring the escalation of the war, are not unhappy that the

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(SEE NOTE PAGE 4)

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ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5829

~~TOP SECRET~~/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

**LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

United States is "bogged down" and dissipating its forces. The general attitude of the Soviet Union is to let the United States "get itself bloodied" while the Soviet Union sits back and supplies aid, but will enter the conflict only in the event the rest of the communist camp is threatened.

Breshnev noted that the Soviet Union has no desire to fight China's war, but is under heavy pressure from its allies to take a more active military role in Vietnam. He noted that this pressure is increasing because of Chinese efforts to undermine the Soviet position in the world communist movement. Breshnev indicated that, therefore, the continuation of the present course by the Soviet Union cannot be depended upon.

Romania leader Ceausescu noted that during the Warsaw Pact meeting in Bucharest last July, some of the participants demanded that the Soviet Union withdraw from the Geneva Disarmament conferences on the grounds that the conference is a fraud in view of the bombing and killing being done by the United States in Vietnam. Ceausescu mentioned that at the Bucharest meeting some countries, including Romania and Poland, charged that the Soviet Union was counseling the North Vietnamese to capitulate. These countries demanded that the Soviet Union send an ultimatum to the United States stating that if the United States did not cease its aggression in Vietnam, the United States would meet the "armed might and rockets of the Soviet Union."

Polish leader Gomulka urged more militant action by the Soviet Union and raised the question, "If Poland is attacked by the United States, would the Soviet Union merely send a note of protest?" Gomulka completely disagreed with Gus Hall's assessment of growing peace forces in the United States. Gomulka declared that the people in the United States are dissatisfied with President Lyndon B. Johnson only because Johnson is not winning the war, and not because the United States is engaged in a war. Gomulka claimed that the majority of the people in the United States support President Johnson's policy in Vietnam, and he compared the people in the United States to the German people who criticized Adolph Hitler only because the war was lost.

~~TOP SECRET~~/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

**LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

A dominant concern of most European communist parties is that if the Soviet Union does not escalate its involvement in the Vietnam war, the United States will be able to attack communist countries in Europe with impunity. Most European communist countries favor escalation of the Vietnam conflict short of nuclear war, and Poland and Romania are the most militant in this regard.

Jozef Lenart, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, who recently returned from a mission to Hanoi, North Vietnam, indicated that the Czechs had presented a position to the North Vietnamese which was identical with the position of the Communist Party, USA, calling for negotiations. The North Vietnamese leaders stated that they would consider this position. The Czech leaders noted that the Chinese influence has been strengthened in Hanoi since last August, and predominates in the North Vietnamese armed forces. They also noted that the North Vietnamese leaders rejected any statements critical of China's actions regarding North Vietnam. It was the conclusion of the Czech leaders, as well as the Soviet leaders, that the pledge by the North Vietnamese to continue fighting for 20 years or longer must be based upon a promise from China that it will intervene militarily at some point in the struggle.

Assessment of Soviet Leadership:

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is now the undisputed leader. The more militant Soviet leaders advocating a return to the hard line of Stalinism have lost their influence.

International Communist Meeting:

A resolution calling for an international meeting of all communist parties will be presented to the next plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is the Soviet position that the world situation demands such a meeting even if the Chinese and their few allies do not attend.

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

~~TOP SECRET~~/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~/No Foreign Dissemination" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing *value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the country. In order to further protect the identity of this valuable source, CG 5824-S* is being referred to as sources in the outgoing. Dissemination is being made by cover letter to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President. Dissemination is also being made by routing slip to the Acting Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General. Data extracted from Chicago teletype 10/16/66, captioned "Solo, IS-C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 10/17/66, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist" prepared by WGS:dmk/jav.

~~TOP SECRET~~/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

October 17, 1966

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

Dear Mr. Watson:

The enclosed memorandum captioned "Latest Developments in the International Communist Movement" is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest to the President.

The enclosed memorandum sets forth observations made by leaders of various communist parties, particularly those in the Soviet Union and satellite countries, during recent discussions with Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, regarding Vietnam, the leadership of the Soviet Union and plans for an international communist meeting.

Because of the sensitive nature of the sources which furnished this information, this communication and its enclosure are classified "Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination." The information in the enclosed memorandum is also being furnished to the Acting Attorney General.

100-428091

Sincerely yours,

WGS:dmk

(7) dmk

REC 20 100-428091-5829

6 OCT 25 1966

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Enclosure

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ENCLOSURE

NOV 2 1966

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~~TOP SECRET~~/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

Honorable Marvin Watson
Special Assistant to the President

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~/No Foreign Dissemination" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*), who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "Sources" in order to further protect the security of this valuable informant. Information extracted from Chicago teletype 10/16/66 captioned "Solo, IS - C". See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan 10/17/66 captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist" prepared by WGS:dmk/jav.

~~TOP SECRET~~/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

DATE 02-01-2012

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

October 20, 1966

BY LIAISON

REC 20-100-428091-5830

EX-104

Honorable Dean Rusk
The Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

Dear Mr. Rusk:

The enclosed memorandum captioned "Latest Developments in the International Communist Movement" is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

The enclosed memorandum sets forth observations made by leaders of various communist parties, particularly those in the Soviet Union and satellite countries, during recent discussions with Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA, regarding Vietnam, the leadership of the Soviet Union and plans for an international communist meeting.

Because of the sensitive nature of the sources which furnished this information, this communication and its enclosure are classified ~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~.

Sincerely yours,

100-428091

WGS:dmk
(7) dmk

Enclosure

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

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~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

Honorable Dean Rusk
The Secretary of State

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret/No Foreign Dissemination~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*), who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this valuable informant. Information extracted from Chicago teletype 10/16/66, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 10/30/66, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist" prepared by WGS:dmk. The yellow of the enclosed letterhead memorandum is filed as enclosure to letter to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, dated 10/17/66, in the Solo file.

~~TOP SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

DATE: 10/17/66

1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

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This is to recommend that data developed by CG 5824-S* concerning the latest developments in the international communist movement be disseminated to the White House and the Acting Attorney General.

CG 5824-S* was in the Soviet Union and satellite countries on Solo Mission 21 from 8/7/66, to 10/15/66. The purpose of this mission was to accompany Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, on a world tour and in discussions with leaders of the Soviet Union and satellite countries. The high lights of this mission are as follows:

Vietnam Situation:

The Soviet Union and most of the satellite countries are in general agreement with the position of the Communist Party, USA, that there is no hope of military victory by either side in Vietnam and the only solution to this problem is negotiations. However, Poland and Romania rejected this position and attacked the Communist Party, USA, as a "capitulator."

The present attitude of the Soviet Union is to let the United States dissipate its forces while the Soviet Union sits back and renders aid to the North Vietnamese, but will not enter the conflict unless the rest of the communist camp is threatened. The Soviet Union, however, is under heavy pressure from its allies to take a more active military role in Vietnam, and this pressure is increasing because of the Chinese efforts to undermine the Soviet position in the world communist movement. Poland and Romania have insisted that the Soviet Union send an ultimatum to the United States stating that if the United States does not cease its aggression in Vietnam, it will face the "armed might and rockets of the Soviet Union."

Enclosures *Reit*

100-428091
WGS:dmk/jav
(6)

EX-104 REC 20 100-428091-5830
10-19-66
CONTINUED - OVER

6 OCT 25 1966

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: SOLO
100-428091

Czech Prime Minister Jozef Lenart, who just returned from a mission to Hanoi, presented a position to North Vietnamese identical to that of the Communist Party, USA. The North Vietnamese promised to think it over. The Czech leaders noted that Chinese influence has been strengthened in Hanoi since last August and predominates in Vietnam armed forces. Czech leaders have reached the conclusion that North Vietnam's pledge to continue war up to 20 years or longer, must be based upon promise from China to intervene militarily at some point in the struggle.

Assessment of Soviet Leadership:

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is now undisputed leader. More militant Soviet leaders advocating return to hard line of Stalinism have lost their influence.

International Communist Meeting:

A resolution calling for an international meeting of all communist parties will be presented to the next plenum of Communist Party of Soviet Union. It is Soviet position that world situation demands such a meeting even if the Chinese and its few allies do not attend.

Financial Subsidy for Communist Party, USA:

Soviet leaders have under consideration a request by the Communist Party, USA, for a financial subsidy of \$1,740,000 for the year 1967.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached summary incorporating information furnished by CG 5824-S* be sent to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, by cover letter and that the summary also be sent by routing slip to the Acting Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General.

WCA

WCS

✓

✓

Send copy
to Sec of State

1017

WCA

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. C. D. DeLoach *CD*

DATE: 10/21/66

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

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Special Agent in Charge Marlin Johnson, of our Chicago Office, called this morning to request authority to send the Agent who is handling the debriefing of CG 5824-S* to New York today in order that the debriefing may be continued as expeditiously as possible, and also to enable the Agent to handle any problems which might arise in this complex operation.

You will recall that CG 5824-S* returned from the 21st Solo Mission on 10/15/66. The informant had been in the company of Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, during Hall's discussions with foreign communist leaders throughout the Soviet Union and satellite countries. Hall is due to arrive in New York City from abroad this weekend and has instructed that CG 5824-S* meet him when he arrives.

The Chicago Agent who is handling the debriefing of CG 5824-S* is completely familiar with the names, places and events in the international communist field and has, in the past, greatly facilitated the debriefing of informant and the handling of the many complex problems which arise in this case.

ACTION:

Under the circumstances, I authorized Chicago to send the Agent who is handling the debriefing of CG 5824-S* to New York.

100-428091

FJB:dmk
(5) *dmk*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

REC-58

EX-108

OCT 26 1966

65 OCT 31 1966

REC-11
ROUTE IN MIN OPE
FBI

Date: 10/24/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the Chicago Office two copies of a Letterhead Memorandum entitled, "Discussion Between Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party USA and Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary, Communist Party of Romania, October 1966."

The information in the enclosed Letterhead Memorandum was furnished on 10/15-18/66 to SAS RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed Letterhead Memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

The enclosed Letterhead Memorandum has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably

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3-Bureau (100-428091) (Encls. 4) (RM)
2-Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (Encls. 2) (AM RM)
(1- A 134-46 Sub B)
1-New York (100-134637)

WAB:eac
(7)

100-428091-5832
OCT 26 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*

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Special Agent in Charge

55 NOV 7 1966

NY 100-34637

result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international Communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

CG 5824-S* has advised that the first meeting described herein was held in the offices of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Romania on 10/10/66. Thereafter on the same date a banquet was held in honor of GUS HALL at a palace a short distance from the villa in which the CP,USA delegation was staying. The discussion begun earlier in the day was then resumed after the dinner and continued until 12:30 a.m. of the following morning. Present at the discussion besides HALL were CG 5824-S*; ARNOLD JOHNSON, Public Relations Director of the CP,USA; and ALEXANDRU BIRLADEANU, Member of the Executive Committee and Presidium of the Central Committee Communist Party of Romania and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with other representatives of the CPR.

Articles concerning HALL's visit to the SRR appeared in the October 9, 10 and 11 issues of "Scinteia" daily newspaper of the CC, CPR, but such articles do not contain the type of information set forth herein.

Pertinent information contained herein relating to security subjects will be disseminated under individual caption, suitably paraphrased and with appropriate cautionary statements.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
October 24, 1966

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Discussion Between Gus Hall,
General Secretary, Communist
Party USA and Nicolae Ceausescu,
General Secretary, Communist
Party of Roumania, October, 1966

During October, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During October, 1966, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA), was engaged in a tour of socialist countries. On October 10, 1966, Hall was received by Nicolae Ceausescu, General Secretary of the Communist Party (CP) of Roumania. The essence of their discussion is set forth below:

Gus Hall began the discussion by outlining the position of the CPUSA on a number of problems facing the world Communist movement. Hall presented the CPUSA's analysis of the growing anti-war forces in the United States and the disagreements existing within the ruling circles of the United States. Furthermore, Hall charged that many CPs, especially some of those in the socialist countries, are not making a maximum effort against the United States' policy in Vietnam. Hall stated that neither the Vietnamese nor the United States could win a complete military victory in Vietnam and that the solution lay in a struggle on two fronts, political as well as military. Hall counseled flexible tactics and that the Vietnamese must eventually come to the conference table and negotiate a political

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GROUP 1
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declassification

100-428091-5832

Document downgraded to Secret
per 60324-10 BAC/PS on 10/22/2011

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Discussion Between Gus Hall,
General Secretary, CPUSA and
Nicolae Ceausescu, General
Secretary, CP of Roumania,
October, 1966

settlement of the Vietnam conflict. In addition, Hall stressed the need for unity in the world Communist movement and blamed the CP of China who initiated the current split in the movement for hindering the efforts of the entire socialist world to help the Vietnamese against the United States. Also, Hall described his proposal for the establishment of a new modern Communist News Agency to meet the need to keep all CPs and their press fully informed on the situations and struggles of all other Parties. Finally, Hall proposed that an international meeting be held to discuss organizational problems among youth.

Following Hall's initial remarks, Ceausescu replied in essence as follows:

I would like to express my thanks to Comrade Gus Hall for the explanation of the situation in the US. Some of the opinions expressed connected with the war in Vietnam are similar to ours. In assessing the problem of finding a path to put an end to the war in Vietnam, we start with the premise that the war is not popular, not only in the United States but as shown by our talks with the leaders of other North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries it is also unpopular there. Many NATO leaders have indicated in various ways that they are also troubled by the policies of the United States.

In the Mideast, we talked to the leaders of a number of these countries including Iran, Turkey, as well as the leaders of Denmark and Greece and others. All of these are preoccupied with the problem of Vietnam and how to find a solution. In our discussions with West German leaders they privately agreed that although they support the United States policy, there is a great deal of political pressure to solve the Vietnam situation.

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Of course we should pay a lot of attention to the situation in the United States as described by Comrade Hall, but it confirms our information about the disagreements which exist in United States ruling circles. We appreciate the fact that these forces could press for an end to the war. But the problem is how should all of our forces and all the progressive forces press for an end to the war. We also agree that not all the forces even in the socialist countries have utilized every possibility to unite and mobilize world forces against United States imperialist aggression in Vietnam. Such a united mobilization would certainly help the internal forces in the United States and United States public opinion to find solutions to put an end to this aggression. Of course the socialist countries are giving material aid to Vietnam, but the political struggle lags. Understandably, the Vietnamese can do nothing else but fight.

But the fight on two fronts, political as well as military, may help to find a solution. We talked very recently to our Vietnamese comrades and we agreed completely on this point of view. This was also discussed at the Bucharest meeting in July and we agreed on this point of view. However, we were unable to produce the answer to the Vietnam problem. At the present time, this problem of the Vietnam war is the most important problem in the world. If the war continues, it will enlarge and this would have grave implications for every nation in the world.

From the standpoint of what can be done, first of all we should demand that the United States stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). If we could accomplish

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this, we could get the support of all the people in the world and in the United States. The Vietnamese comrades are of the same opinion. We need to find new forms to develop wider activities than engaged in up till now.

This situation in Vietnam is very closely connected with the state of affairs in regard to relations between socialist states and in the international Communist movement. This lack of unity among socialist states and in the international Communist movement has given the United States a great advantage. There are many causes for this disunity, but this is not the moment for such a discussion of the reasons for this. It is difficult to achieve clarity on all of these problems, but we will say that you cannot find the guilty ones in only one Party because many are guilty. This is a state of affairs that causes great prejudice to the Communist movement. We think that today we should do everything possible to arrive at common agreement on common problems and this should be done first on the subject of United States aggression in Vietnam.

The differences which exist within the international Communist movement are many. Some of these differences are on principled questions involving different interpretations of Marxism-Leninism et cetera. But this fact should not interfere with the possibilities of united action on common problems. At this stage, it would be difficult to ask that all Parties have the same point of view, because each Party arises out of differences in history, different levels of economic development et cetera. But we should seek unity on basic problems affecting the international movement. There are differences in the manner of building socialism and these problems cannot be solved in the same way in every country. These differences are reflected in the world movement and in the socialist countries. But you cannot demand that all countries follow the same pattern; this approach widens the differences and contradictions and

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weakens the camp of socialism instead of uniting it. We have relations with all socialist countries in Europe through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon). But we have serious problems and disagreements here also. The question of national sovereignty is very often overlooked although such tendencies do exist. There is an attempt to impose forms that do not correspond with the norms of socialist relations and this leads to arguments. At the Bucharest meeting we discussed these problems but they were not solved and this lack of understanding still exists and continues at this time. However, we think that we should develop forms of cooperation that correspond with the interests of all countries and that is what we are endeavoring to do in Comecon. We have relations with all socialist countries; there are problems of course and we are not always in agreement. But let me stress that on matters of principle we do agree. The difficulties start when these problems are not analyzed in depth and no practical solutions are put forward.

In regard to the question of China, there are various ways to understand this problem. We are trying to find a common denominator for its solution. We have relations not only with China but also with Korea, Mongolia and Vietnam. With the Chinese comrades we have differed on some problems. The Chinese Premier Chou En-lai was in Bucharest last May. We are seeking to develop cooperation with China on problems where agreement is possible. In our consideration of the Vietnamese situation we were in agreement. We are cooperating and giving aid. If all the socialist countries would behave in the same way we would be closer to agreement each with each other, including China.

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Nicolae Ceausescu, General
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October, 1966

In regard to the cultural revolution in China, many CPs in the world published declarations condemning the activities in China. But we did not do so. Why? First of all, we do not know what is happening there. How can you define a situation when the only information you have is what you get from the press. Of course there is unclarity. We do not agree with all that is happening in China but in other socialist countries there are also questions on which we do not agree. If we were to start publishing declarations condemning them, also, we would create numerous splits. The developments in China are their own internal problems; they have to solve these themselves. We say, let the CP of China and the working class of China find the solutions. We cannot prescribe solutions to Chinese problems from outside, whether we agree or disagree with them. Remember that we once condemned the situation in Yugoslavia and you know the results of that. Condemning what is going on in one country or another leads nowhere. If we wanted to we can find disagreements on some matters with all socialist countries. If we should start condemning China, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, et cetera, and if they start condemning us, there would be a situation where there would be no agreement at all.

Our position is that we should find points of agreement. The matter of how the Soviet Union solved the Khrushchev problem is their own business although we did not agree with their solution. The Soviet comrades have admitted that they've made mistakes on some problems. What would have happened had we criticized the CP of the Soviet Union at that time? In private we express our opinions on these matters and we believe that is what we should do. We consider that the main course of the state of relations among CPs, in both socialist and capitalist countries, lies in the ^{non}interference in the affairs of other Parties and the attempt to impose a certain point of view. This denies the independence of each Party to solve its own problems.

We have discussed these problems for a long time and so

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it is nothing new. For several years we have discussed these problems with the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of China. We find that in principle everyone "agrees" to the principle of respecting each Party and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another Party. These principles of autonomy however are beginning to take root. Measures taken leading up to an understanding between all countries and Parties will have to insure that strict Marxist principles prevail.

We have good relations with a number of non-socialist countries. We try to develop these relations regardless of the social system prevailing in these countries. In Europe the nations are working for collective security. Our talks with other countries reveal a general trend to find a solution for European problems which would lead to the dissolution of military blocs and the withdrawal of all troops to their national borders. We hold the opinion that the same is true about Asia. We are developing wider relations with Communist and workers parties and socialist parties and with national parties in Africa and Asia. We believe that these discussions are helping to find paths to peace. We have here in our country at this time a delegation from the Liberal Party in Japan. We also received delegations from the Italian Socialist Party and delegations from the Liberal Party of Great Britain. These discussions lead to a clarification of public opinion. Although these people are not Communists, nevertheless they favor some solution regarding international relations and peace. These are necessary conditions to develop a widespread movement to put an end to tensions and find peaceful solutions. We must use these trends for peace.

Of course there are reactionary trends also aimed at starting aggression and which are against a peaceful solution of the situation in Europe. These trends come not only from Europe but from outside Europe also. But we must work against the aggravation of problems which can lead to world war. At this time, we can ask the question, is there a danger of war or not? Theoretically we can say many things; but practically there is a danger of war. Imperialism still exists and engages in aggression and when not rebuffed they will expand their

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aggression. The danger of war has not only not been done away with but has actually increased. United States imperialism was not met with the proper rebuff when they started the bombing of North Vietnam. At the time of the Suez invasion notice was served upon them and they were compelled to stop. What we need now is a decisive position against United States imperialist aggression. The French position against United States aggression is generated by interests that are not Communist; nonetheless the French policies weaken imperialism and help us to find solutions by means other than war. We support France on these international problems.

Insofar as our relations with the United States are concerned, they are at a low level. Our economic relations with the United States are insignificant. We do less business with the United States than other socialist countries do with the United States. The United States makes many promises about developing relations with socialist countries, but in practice they do little. Perhaps we are better off this way. Just lately we have restricted our exchanges with the United States. For example, we did not allow our Roumanian folk singers to go to the United States because of the war of aggression being carried on by the United States in Vietnam. Although we have talked to the United States Secretary of State Dean Rusk in the United Nations, nevertheless our relations with the United States are weaker because of their actions in Vietnam. When Mr. Sulzberger of the "New York Times" was recently here in Roumania, we had a talk with him. From such exchanges we hope that things will develop better. That is how we view these world problems at this time.

At this point, Gus Hall spoke as follows:

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We in the United States determine our approach to these problems by how they affect our work. The central question for us is how to win the majority of the people. This is our historic task and this influences our opinion on international questions. But we can only discuss generalities because we have no information on some of these questions other than generalities. The situation is the same in regard to the CPs of Italy and France. The impression I have received during my tour is that there is no "oneness" in the international movement. Each Party looks at the world from "their own little window." While the independence of each Party is very important, at the same time there should also be an interrelation and interdependence among the Parties of the world. The socialist world will have to reach a higher stage of relations and interdependence. They can't reach it on the present level or on the old level; they need a newer higher level.

In regard to the current situation in the world Communist movement, it is our opinion that the division in the ranks of world Communism gave United States imperialism a new lease on life which it could not have had in any other way. The specialists in the State Department and in the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other departments are constantly working on how to use the split in the world Communist movement for the advantage of imperialism. When speaking of the danger of war, we believe that the danger of a nuclear war is increased by this lack of Communist unity. We must resolve the differences in unity of the socialist camp against imperialism and no effort is too great for the accomplishment of this task.

Ceausescu continued:

The problem of unity in the world Communist movement is the most burning item in the world today. In order to achieve this unity it is necessary to start from a position that would assure the cooperation of all socialist parties. The principles of non-interference are basic. Such interference is not supposed to exist. But while it does not exist in theory it does exist

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in practice. This results from the effort to impose a certain point of view. No advance can be achieved in the world Communist movement if we are reduced to receiving theses elaborated by others. Every Party should judge and analyze and arrive at conclusions with its own head. We disagree with the interpretation that only certain people or certain Parties have the correct thesis. Marxism-Leninism was distorted under Stalin. Thus, what is incorrect for a single man (Stalin) is not correct for a Party. We cannot have a situation where we must accept without discussion the dictates of an individual or another Party.

There are many problems in the world which we should discuss, such as problems of war and peace, the building of socialism, left and right deviations, Venezuela, Indonesia, Iraq, et cetera. These discussions should lead to scientific appraisals and not excommunication. We favor not only inter-Party discussions but also public discussions. We agree that we can discuss China's cultural revolution. In the polemics thus far we have not seen mention of their past inheritances, their culture, et cetera. Now I am not saying this in self-praise, but we are analyzing these problems publicly without mentioning China. We only discussed how we should react to such problems.

In connection with what is going on in China at this time, most Parties have issued declarations which only condemned the activities in China and did not analyze them. In the short space of two weeks time, many Parties published public condemnations of Chinese events. Why is it that some of these Parties did not so hurriedly condemn United States imperialism? Is it because they believe that China is the main enemy? The Sudanese Party says that the main enemy is China. Are they correct? Of course not! Imperialism is the main enemy! In today's paper we wrote that the main task is to struggle against United States imperialism and aggression.

We agree that we can criticize anything going on in other countries, but this criticism must be in the form of analysis and not in the form of condemnation. There are two ways of approaching this situation. One is the way of tolerance

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and excommunication; this creates a climate which is not favorable to discussing principles. The other way is to discuss the situation on the basis of Marxism-Leninism in a principled manner. This way is without insults and without excommunications. It is incorrect to discuss differences with the meaning that "you are the enemy."

In the world Communist movement at this time, we have no means of discussion. Today's world is still a capitalist world but not like it was in the time of Karl Marx. Today we have no analyses of modern capitalism. Socialism has been building for 50 years and it started in backward countries. If the revolution had occurred in Germany or the USA, socialism would have had a bigger influence on us and the backward countries. We still can't tell countries like Denmark, Sweden and others that "Roumanians live better than you," because this is not so. Right now we are where those countries were one hundred years ago. In China the situation is still worse. In the United States each person has 95 kilos of meat a year, whereas in China a person has only a couple of kilos a year. We need to analyze this situation, but how? The discussion should be bilateral and we should write on this subject. Now we write but we do not do so critically, even about our own countries. Such analyses should be made in a principled atmosphere, with the freedom to discuss. I recently read an article in "Le Monde" which made an effort to analyze what is happening in China on the basis of economic and social principles. However, no such article has ever appeared in the socialist press.

In regard to the relations between CPs and between socialist countries, et cetera, we should thoroughly discuss these matters. We will discuss anything with you and will do so without anger. If it is thought that this can be done in correspondence we have tried it and correspondence cannot do it. We exchanged information directly with European Parties and in other ways also. The "World Marxist Review" should have been the means of exchanging this information but it has not fulfilled its task. We say this even though we helped to create the magazine and are represented on its editorial board. But the journal informs in a unilateral manner and only gives that information which it likes. It is not the free forum. As a

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result, for a long time we did not even reproduce the magazine. Now we publish only a part of it and leave out the polemics.

In regard to your proposal, Comrade Hall, for an international press agency, we believe it is a good idea. However we wonder if it will become an objective distributor of information or will it become like the "World Marxist Review". A year ago the CP of Japan sent an article to the magazine which criticized the former CP of Japan member Yoshio Siga. The article therefore was not published. We say that it is necessary to respect the views of other Parties. Even if you do not agree with these views the articles should be published and these views can be fought later. There should be no defaming or characterization as Trotskyites etc.

We do not think that things are going well at all. There are many things wrong in the efforts to construct a socialist democracy. In the effort to achieve unity in the world socialist camp, there is a need to create a true Marxist-Leninist climate. Bilateral relations and discussions will help to achieve this. There should be no insults and no blame placed. We have held discussions with Comrade Brezhnev and with Comrade Chou En-lai. Each blamed the other. They were very suspicious of each other and accused each other of being the "ally of US imperialism" etc. We need less suspicion and more confidence in each other. We need to have discussions without labeling others as "traitors".

Even the socialist countries do not agree among themselves. For example we did not even know about the Soviet missiles in Cuba. You know that the Warsaw Treaty requires our support of other socialist countries but one way cooperation is no good. The SU removed its rockets from Cuba but only four hours before this was done Cuba told our Ambassador that the rockets would remain. I cite this only as an example to show that some of these actions are not thought out and there are no consultations with other socialist countries or Parties. We say that the same is true of the actions of other Parties in regard to China.

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Life always places problems before us and in the process of dealing with these problems we sometimes make mistakes. Despite all these problems there are positive tendencies that will lead to solutions of these problems. There is a great need to re-establish the unity of the world Communist movement and we are confident that this unity will develop.

Hall interjected:

In the United States the central pillar in the ideological war is anti-Sovietism. Therefore, when the Chinese make the charge that the Soviet Union is the main enemy or the collaborator with United States imperialism, we are compelled to react unless we want to lose our influence among the masses.

Ceausescu concluded:

Anti-Soviet statements by the Chinese cannot be accepted. We state this publicly and we have talked to the Chinese comrades about this. We cannot accept anti-Communism or anti-Sovietism or anti-Bulgarianism or anti-Roumanianism, et cetera. But at the same time we should not exclude about this or that problem in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Roumania, et cetera. But this cannot turn into anti-Sovietism or anti-Communism. The Chinese say it is not the Soviet Union but the Soviet leaders who are the enemies. I have never read a statement by the Chinese that names the Soviet Union as the enemy. We reject this charge also. At the same time we also reject the charges of those who attack China.

We believe that this meeting today has been very positive and important. It is well that we can discuss these matters as comrades even if there is a difference of shading here and there. We are glad that you came and we are confident that our relations will grow stronger.

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At this point, the discussion was adjourned for the time being, but was resumed later on the same date. At the subsequent meeting, the agreeable atmosphere that prevailed at the earlier conference soon gave place to a very heated and argumentative exchange over different views on the Vietnam war. The differences arose from contrasting views of the role currently being played by the USSR in the Vietnam situation. Ceausescu disagreed markedly with the Soviet position and strongly favored increased Soviet militancy. Finally in the heat of the exchange between Hall and Ceausescu, the Roumanian leader divulged previously undisclosed information concerning the proceedings at the meeting in Bucharest during July, 1966, of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Nations. Subsequently, Ceausescu apparently had second thoughts about his rashness in revealing this information to Hall as he later swore Hall to secrecy.

The substance of Ceausescu's remarks in regard to the Bucharest meeting is as follows:

At the instigation of Roumania, some of the countries at the Bucharest meeting had insisted that the USSR send an ultimatum to the United States such as was done at the time of the Suez invasion setting forth certain demands upon the United States amounting to complete cessation of its current role in Vietnam, and stating that if these demands are not met by the United States, then the United States will "meet the armed might and rockets of the Soviet Union" and the other socialist countries will join the Soviet Union in this demand. According to Ceausescu, Roumania and Poland led the fight for this demand. According to Ceausescu, the charge was made that certain Parties were counseling the North Vietnamese to capitulate to the United States and the Saigon Government. Although no Parties were named by Ceausescu, the context of his remarks left no doubt that he was referring to the CP of

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the Soviet Union and the CP of Czechoslovakia, as well as
some Parties in the western world such as the CPUSA, the CP
of Italy and others.

Ceausescu insisted that the credibility and integrity of the international Communist movement, the socialist camp, and, in particular, of the Soviet Union, were at stake here. If the United States can get away with an attack on a socialist country like North Vietnam then what is to stop them from doing the same to other socialist countries. Ceausescu stated that the Poles agree with this point of view and alleged that the attitude of First Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka of the Polish United Workers Party is characterized in his question: "If Poland is attacked by the United States, would the USSR merely send a note of protest also?" The charge was made that in the public presentation of this problem, the French are more militant and sharper in tone with United States President Johnson than the public statements of the USSR and its ambassadors. Also, according to Ceausescu, another proposal was put forward at the Bucharest meeting which was supported by Roumania and Poland with perhaps some support from other countries as well, that the USSR should demonstratively withdraw from the disarmament conference at Geneva. The point to be made by this action is that there is no use dealing with the United States on the subject of disarmament because the whole conference is a fraud and the USSR will show the world that it will not make any deals while the United States is bombing and killing in Vietnam.

To both of the above proposals at Bucharest, the Soviet Union turned a deaf ear. The Soviet Union displayed a much more moderating attitude than the other countries in attendance. According to the USSR, this was not the tactical moment for such actions. The result was that the participants in the Bucharest meeting battled for four days before a resolution on the Vietnam situation could be formulated which was acceptable to all.

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ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/22/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "COMMENTS OF VLADIMIR KOUCKY, SECRETARY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, RELATING TO RESULTS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC DELEGATION TO DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, SEPTEMBER, 1966."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 10/15-16/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

1-904 9th St. Wash. D.C.
③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

MWH:MDW
(5)

100-428091-5833
6 OCT 26 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was developed during the course of a discussion held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, at Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia, headquarters. The only individuals participating in this discussion were VLADIMIR KOUCKY, a Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia, and the source. Source noted that the meeting had been arranged with KOUCKY with the full approval of GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, who had at that time departed for France. HALL desired this meeting because he had been previously told of this Czech delegation to Hanoi and desired to be brought up to date on the thinking of the Vietnamese. In order that this meeting could be held with KOUCKY, the source delayed his return to the United States so that it could be held. This meeting with KOUCKY represented the last official contact and discussions that the source held during the current Solo Mission.

For the Bureau's information, according to the information of the Chicago Office, only the barest details regarding this Czech delegation's journey to Vietnam have appeared in the Western press. Nothing has been seen to date in the press which would reflect the essence of the matter which is reported in the enclosed letterhead memorandum.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

October 22, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

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COMMENTS OF VLADIMIR KOUCKY, SECRETARY, CENTRAL
COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA,
RELATING TO RESULTS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHO-
SLOVAKIA AND CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC
DELEGATION TO DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM,
SEPTEMBER, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information
in the past, during October, 1966, advised as follows:

During September, 1966, an official delegation
from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) and the
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic (CSR) traveled to Hanoi,
Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) in order to hold dis-
cussions with representatives of both the Government of the
DRV and Workers Party of Vietnam (WPV). Among the individuals
representing the Czechoslovak Government and the CPCZ in this
delegation were Jozef Lenart, Premier of the CSR and member
of the Presidium of the CPCZ, and Vladimir Koucky, Secretary
of the Central Committee, CPCZ. Among those who represented
the Government of the DRV and the WPV were Ho Chi Minh,
President of the DRV and Chairman of the WPV, and Pham Van
Dong, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRV and
leading member of the WPV.

Following the visit to the DRV, the Czech delega-
tion returned to Prague, Czechoslovakia, in early October,
1966, via Moscow, USSR, where they held a meeting on the
results of their Vietnam discussions with leading representa-
tives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

Subsequently, Koucky, during mid-October, 1966,
commented as follows regarding the results of his trip to
the DRV. The essence of Koucky's remarks at this time was
as follows:

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and its contents are not to be distributed out-
side your agency.

ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~
Group 1

excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-428091-5633

Document downgraded to Secret
per 6025 of the E.O. 12958/2011

COMMENTS OF VLADIMIR KOUCKY, SECRETARY,
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPCZ, RELATING TO
RESULTS OF CPCZ AND CSR DELEGATION TO
DRV, SEPTEMBER, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

We presented our point of view on the United States aggression in Vietnam to the Vietnamese. They, in turn, gave us a very optimistic picture of the military situation and stated they are scoring victory after victory over the Americans. They said they don't want a long war nor were they eager to suffer casualties. However, they will continue to fight if necessary for five, ten, or twenty years. We gave the Vietnamese a picture of the situation as given to the CPCZ by Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), and presented the CP, USA points to them just as Comrade Hall enumerated them in Prague during his visit. We laid stress on the fact that the most important fight may not be on the military front but rather on the political front. We pointed out that the weak link in United States policy is not military but political. We told them that if they really want to strike a blow against United States imperialism, they could do it chiefly on the political front. We emphasized that the point of view held by the CP, USA was not neutral in this struggle and that the CP, USA is continuing their all-out struggle against the Vietnam war. Naturally, we thought it politically advisable to speak in the name of the CP, USA when presenting the CP, USA position, yet as you know, we have an identity of views on this subject.

Our constant emphasis was placed on the need for a struggle on two fronts; that is, not to give up the military struggle but also to engage in the political struggle. We told them that the key for the political struggle is in Vietnamese hands. Since the political front is the weak link in American policy, the struggle should be waged on this front through negotiations, talks, conferences, etc.

We also took up the fact that we are having a hard time coordinating the aid from all the socialist countries to the Vietnamese. We stated that the difficulties are reaching such a point in the coordination of this help that we would recommend to the Vietnamese that they deal with all the socialist countries together in some sort of coordination committee and not deal with each country on a bilateral basis. We told them that if they deal with some type of committee comprised of all the socialist countries, then the help would be better coordinated and would aid in leading to victory.

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF VLADIMIR KOUCKY, SECRETARY,
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPCZ, RELATING TO
RESULTS OF CPCZ AND CSR DELEGATION TO
DRV, SEPTEMBER, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

In reply to our remarks, the Vietnamese said that they do not disagree with this but "let's go slow on this." In regard to the political matters we raised in relation to propaganda, negotiations, etc., the Vietnamese did not answer at all. On the political matters we raised, the Vietnamese just listened to them but did not answer. They said that they are fighting politically but when we asked them how they were doing this, the answers they gave were silly. When we suggested that the four points raised by the Vietnamese for settlement of the Vietnamese situation be included in our joint communique at the end of our talks, the Vietnamese refused to include the four points in the communique. They indicated that the four points were no longer a sufficient basis for a settlement.

While we were unable to make any impression on the Vietnamese, we must say that we had a very friendly reception. We had discussions with Ho Chi Minh and Premier Pham Van Dong. It was our impression that the Chinese influence has become much stronger in Vietnam and that there is a split in the Vietnam Party although they try not to show it. I learned that the Chinese influence predominates especially in the Armed Forces of North Vietnam.

As I said, we presented our position on the war in Vietnam, that we have a clear disagreement with the CP of China and their attacks on the Soviet Union, with the Chinese attitude on the war in Vietnam, and with the "cultural revolution" in China. In answer the Vietnamese told us that they completely disagree with us. I don't know why they said it unless perhaps they don't want to be on record as making statements against the Chinese. They even charged, in almost heated terms, that we spoke about the Chinese in "inadmissible terms." However, this exchange was not related to the concrete discussion which we had concerning coordinating aid and carrying on the political struggle.

For the information of the Vietnamese, we quoted to them the CP of China letter in which they refused our invitation to attend our Party Congress last June. We told the CP of China that we were not being obstructionists and even invited

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF VLADIMIR KOUCKY, SECRETARY,
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPCZ, RELATING TO
RESULTS OF CPCZ AND CSR DELEGATION TO
DRV, SEPTEMBER, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

the Chinese to our Party Congress. We quoted the contents of the Chinese reply, in which they refused to attend and called us Czech revisionists, etc. We said to the Vietnamese, "Put yourselves in our place. What do you want us to do?" They answered that they resented our speaking about Chinese policy.

We also informed the Vietnamese about certain problems related to our economy and explained the reasons for certain changes in our economic system and how they operate. The Vietnamese, after they heard this explanation, stated that now they understand better what we are doing because the Chinese had charged that the Czechs were restoring capitalism. Now, the Vietnamese don't believe that charge.

We discussed and explained the political situation in Europe. We told them that the military structure of imperialism is greater in Europe than it is in Asia. We said the United States has only put about thirty percent of their arms at the disposal of those who are fighting the war in Vietnam. Most of the United States arms are still in Europe and the United States. We wanted to let them know the United States is not as weak as they think and that there is also a military front in Europe. We gave them as many realistic arguments as possible. All they said was, "We'll study it."

The visit was useful, of course, even if we only talked. Both Bulgaria and Poland have delegations on the way and the net effect should be that we are bound to influence the Vietnamese to some extent.

When our meetings with the Vietnamese comrades were finished, I want to say we had a most difficult time getting out a communique on our visit and discussions. There was the feeling at the time that we were not "speaking the same language."

We spent two days in China on our return from Vietnam. The Chinese gave us the cold shoulder. Chen Yi, a member of the Political Bureau, CP of China, came to the airport and met us. His only comment was "we must be tired" and then he left. He left behind the Chief of Protocol for the CP of China who

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COMMENTS OF VLADIMIR KOUCKY, SECRETARY,
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPCZ, RELATING TO
RESULTS OF CPCZ AND CSR DELEGATION TO
DRV, SEPTEMBER, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

took us to our government residence. When we asked how we were going to spend the time in Peking, he said, "We'll talk and drink tea." But the only talking he did was to say that this was good tea and told us where it came from and then he left. However, when we were on our way to North Vietnam and on our way back, we stopped at some other cities to change planes for Vietnam. There the atmosphere was much warmer. The local Chinese were friendly.

When we talked to Ho Chi Minh and Pham Van Dong we asked, "Don't you think it would be useful if you could directly listen to Gus Hall personally on the United States situation and the Vietnam war?" They said they did not know that Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP, USA, was in Europe. Then they asked if Gus Hall was interested in talking to them. Of course we said yes. Again there were blank faces and the Vietnamese did not react.

We believe that the Chinese influence has been strengthened in Vietnam since August, 1966. This is not only our opinion but it is also the view of the Soviet comrades.

On our way back from the DRV, we met with and talked to the Soviet comrades on the results of our visit. It is our view and I might mention that it is also the view of the CPSU, that the Vietnamese decision to fight to the bitter end and to follow the intransigent line of the CP of China must be based on a definite promise from the Chinese that at some point in the struggle the Chinese will intervene.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE
FBI

Date: 10/22/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "BACKGROUND INFORMATION RELATIVE TO EVENTS AND CHANGES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 10/18/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

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3-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
(5)

100-428091-5834
OCT 26 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

05 NOV 2 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was developed during the course of discussions held both in Moscow, USSR, and in Prague, Czechoslovakia. A number of these discussions at which this matter was touched upon occurred with GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, being present but several of such discussions occurred during the course of the limited private meetings CG 5824-S* had with both leading representatives of the CP of the Soviet Union and the CP of Czechoslovakia. Among individuals who touched upon the subject matter noted in the enclosed letterhead memorandum were BORIS N. PONOMAREV, a Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union; A. S. BELAKOV, Deputy to the Head of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union; NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union; ANTONIN NOVOTNY, First Secretary, Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; and, VLADIMIR KOUCKY, Secretary, Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

October 22, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

BACKGROUND INFORMATION RELATIVE TO RECENT
EVENTS AND CHANGES IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA AND COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during October, 1966, advised as follows:

During August and September, 1966, a number of highly placed individuals connected with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) commented upon current events and changes as related to the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Communist Party of China (CPC), particularly in respect to the "cult of Mao." The comments of these individuals on this subject generally coincided, and in essence was as follows:

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the CPC, is known to have been very ill and the possibility appeared to some among the leadership in China that he might be totally incapacitated or might die. As a result, some people, including Peng Chen, a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPC, and Liu Shao-chi, Chairman of the PRC and also a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPC, got together quietly and began to discuss what might be in store in regard to the future for both the People's Republic and the Party in the event of Mao's death.

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ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5834

Document downgraded to Secret
per 6025116 GAO/RS on 1/22/2011

BACKGROUND INFORMATION RELATIVE TO
RECENT EVENTS AND CHANGES IN THE
PRC AND CPC

~~TOP SECRET~~

In this connection, they had drawn up a number of documents dealing with the possibility of Mao's continued incapacity or death. This group, which included many among the top leaders both in Government and the Party, established limited contact with other members of the CPC and opinions on the problem were exchanged. However, during all of this period, the discussions were carried on between an extremely limited number of people and conducted under the utmost security. The circle of people involved were those close to Liu Shao-chi and Peng Chen and fully trusted.

The purpose of these discussions was to attempt to figure out effective ways and means to save the CPC and the country. These people were aware that there was a lot of dissatisfaction building up within the Party, in the Army, and among the people in the country. The economic plans of the past few years carried out by the PRC had all been failures and the political defeat resulting from Indonesia had brought about serious problems. They also reportedly talked about steps which could be taken to normalize relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and remove currently-existing differences.

In the meantime, word somehow got back to Mao Tse-tung that there was this split in the CP leadership developing and that certain discussions were then being carried on. So, when Liu Shao-chi, in his capacity as Chairman of the PRC, made an official state visit to Pakistan, (the "New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York City, in its issues of March 28 and 29, 1966, reflect that Liu Shao-chi was then in Pakistan) a move was made against this dissident group. Before Liu Shao-chi departed for Pakistan, he had failed to take the necessary and proper precaution which would secure certain of the documents and other material which his group had prepared and discussed. In his absence, Liu Shao-chi's quarters were raided and some of this material was found. The finding of this material was, in effect, the "death warrant" for many people. Liu Shao-chi, himself, was officially "finished" as of that moment but for expedience sake and because of possible overall repercussions, he was not officially or publicly removed from his position. However, many other top leaders were removed from their positions both within the Party and within the Government, many people were imprisoned, and a number of the leading cadre have been shot. It was after this event that the full fire of the "Red Guards" started.

~~TOP SECRET~~

BACKGROUND INFORMATION RELATIVE TO
RECENT EVENTS AND CHANGES IN THE
PRC AND CPC

~~TOP SECRET~~

Marshal Lin Piao, the Defense Minister of the PRC, played a predominate and leading role in crushing the anti-Mao forces. Because of the uncertainties and lack of full confidence in the general staff of the People's Army of the PRC, Marshal Lin Piao moved against them. A number of members of the general staff have now been released outright, demoted, or even in some instances shot. The Army, in general, was also thought to be wavering and it was for this reason that it was decided that the Red Guards should be set up. However, it is now apparent that Lin Piao must have obviously succeeded in stabilizing the position of the Chinese Army because they have not intervened in subsequent events.

In the opinion of the CPSU leaders, Liu Shao-chi was considered by them to be a "solid figure" and one who held no "crazy ideas" or leftist tendencies. It had been their hope that he might be the one who would "inherit the mantle of Mao."

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/21/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY, POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER, 1966."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period of 10/15-16/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

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 1 - Chicago

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REC-111

6 OCT 26 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 NOV 1966

1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S* advised that the meeting described in the enclosed LHM took place on 9/22/66. In addition to those names in the LHM, participating in this discussion were CG 5824-S* and ARNOLD JOHNSON, member of the National Board and Public Relations Director, Communist Party, USA.

For the Bureau's information, the following official organs of the Polish United Workers Party carried articles related to Hall's visit in Poland: The "Gazeta Krakowska", 9/20/66; the "Trybuna Ludu", 9/21 and 23/66. In addition, "The Worker", an East Coast communist publication, in its issues of 10/9 and 16/66, carried articles relating to HALL's visit and activities in Poland.

While the Chicago Office does not as yet have full text translations of the foreign language material appearing in the Polish newspapers, a review of the contents of the articles appearing in these newspapers, as well as a review of the contents of the articles appearing in "The Worker", failed to reflect that they contained the essence of the information set forth in the enclosed LHM.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

October 21, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

In October, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, while on a tour of Eastern European socialist countries, visited the People's Republic of Poland during September, 1966. During the course of this visit, on September 22, 1966, Hall met with the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), Wladyslaw Gomulka, and the following members of the PUWP: Zenon Kliszko - a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, PUWP; Wladyslaw Wicha - a Secretary of the Central Committee, PUWP; Stanislaw Trepczynski - a Secretary of the Central Committee, PUWP; and Jozef Kowalczyk - Deputy Chief of the International Department, Central Committee, PUWP.

The essence of the discussion which took place is as follows:

After an initial exchange of greetings, Gomulka asked a number of questions to which Hall responded, outlining

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ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5835

DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

the current status and influence of the CP, USA, his assessment of peace forces in the United States, and the CP, USA position on the war in Vietnam, which in brief counsels that the struggle against "U.S. imperialism" in Vietnam be raised to a higher political level, as well as pursuing the military struggle and that the North Vietnamese enter into negotiations to conclude the Vietnam conflict. The essence of the discussion continued as set forth below.

Gomulka replied to Hall's presentation as follows: In my opinion there seemed to be contradictions in your argument that the United States is "afraid of negotiations." You say that the "key" is in the hands of the Vietnamese. You say that maybe a "conference like Geneva" would help. But United States President Johnson favors military solutions and he would therefore find a pretext to continue to pursue a military "solution." The big question is whether United States imperialism wants to continue to conquer militarily and expand the war in Asia, and to expand the war later to other countries and eventually go on to nuclear war. You said that United States imperialism cannot be defeated militarily in Vietnam. If that is so, what does your population think of the United States policy in Vietnam since you also said that the majority of United States people are against the Vietnam war. You also said that the United States now has no logistical problems judging by the steps being taken by the United States in constantly increasing the number of troops and the escalation of the war in general.

Hall replied: First of all let me say that the CP, USA has a most fundamental principled position against United States imperialism. There is absolutely no wavering by us on this position. Now when speaking of a tactical question, you cannot question the principled position of the CP, USA. There is no question concerning the principled position of our Party and therefore there is no contradiction.

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

When we say the Vietnam situation cannot be solved "militarily", that is only one part of the problem. What we do say is that the Vietnam situation requires both political and military solution. We know that United States imperialists are worried about the political methods applied to Vietnam. When we use the word "key", this does not mean that the Vietnamese need to give up. But it is a tactical question of how to raise this struggle to a higher stage. Without the political key the Vietnam struggle cannot lead anywhere but to a prolonged stalemate.

We think that the world communist movement lags in its mobilization on this question. The main question is to fight for the solution of the Vietnam problem. There is no contradiction between military and political solutions. We are only saying that there is a need to combine both forms of struggle. We have no answers to how this should best be accomplished. We cannot say whether this should be approached through the United Nations, through another Geneva Conference, or what.

Gomulka continued: I only asked some questions and I was not giving opinions. It is obvious that we cannot find the answers to the questions which we are all probing, which is principally how our Vietnamese comrades can build their nations. We cannot even say why the Vietnamese comrades put forward their four or five points. Perhaps the Vietnamese do not see any other way to solve this situation. If they come to the conclusion that there is no need for new proposals, perhaps it is because they know that new answers will not bring any better results.

We are aware of the existence of differences in United States Government circles. But we have no doubt about President Johnson's aims. He wants to force a military surrender - to force Vietnam to its knees to surrender. That is the general line of United States capitalism. We know that Fulbright and Robert Kennedy and those in the peace movement

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

in the United States do not influence a change of policy of
the United States imperialists.

You said that another Geneva meeting might force an
upsurge in the mass movement for peace in the United States.
We think that you are being slightly optimistic in this
regard. The United States peace movement would not be any
bigger even if the slogans were raised of negotiations or
if there were a new Geneva Conference.

We will agree with you that if the Vietnamese comrades
do not take advantage of all the possibilities available to
them, it may be because they are unable to take such advantage.
After all they are on the border of China. As a result of
this geographic situation, approaches by other socialist
countries to North Vietnam must be made by sea. Therefore,
other socialist countries can only send economic aid;
military aid must go by way of China. Thus, the key is in the
hands of China, that is Peking and not Hanoi. China has its
own national interests and evaluates the situation on the
basis of its own interests.

The war in Vietnam is actually a confrontation of
the United States vs. the liberation of Vietnam. As a matter
of fact, you cannot even consider Saigon a factor at all.
This situation cannot be oversimplified. It affects other
parts of the world. This is related to the United States -
Chinese situation. It is also related to the United States
and its relationship to the other world system of socialism.
I repeat that you cannot oversimplify the situation. And
speaking of elasticity of tactics, I repeat that factually
the key is in China.

It is important to stress what United States
imperialism is aiming for. Is it world conflict? We cannot
say, but if this is not so we must say that the United States
is acting as if it is aiming toward a road which leads to
world conflict. There is such a thing as the logic of events.
Things can lead to events that Johnson cannot foresee now.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

I doubt that Johnson foresaw what the war in Vietnam would lead to. He thought the United States could score a quick victory but he failed. He now must go further and send more troops to Vietnam and escalate the war. This problem is no longer a question of Vietnam alone; it now involves other parts of the world.

Last year sitting around this same table I asked the United States Ambassador-at-Large Averill Harriman, if the United States mobilized its entire country and invaded North Vietnam and engaged in a land war with the obvious result that Poland would help and send volunteers, etc., and stymied the United States, would the United States use atomic weapons? I reminded Harriman that if this was done, others have atomic weapons also. Harriman replied that he could not give an answer to that question. But this is a situation which must be thought about. First there would be the use of tactical atomic weapons and then that would lead to the use of strategic atomic weapons. The logic of present events can obliterate the plans of the administration and unleash events they did not foresee. The United States has not yet bombed Hanoi and Haiphong, but for how long will they abstain. We cannot give these answers but we would be happy if we believed that the population in the United States really feels the way Comrade Hall says they do.

At the last Pugwash Conference no decision was reached on the question of Vietnam because the United States delegation supported the policy of the Johnson Administration. Perhaps there were some among the delegation who think differently but what was done was done. We agree that the people in the United States are afraid of nuclear war but we cannot believe that the majority of the population is against war. It is unfortunate, but this is so. The same is true of the forces in the United Nations. It is odd but in the United States there is a high level of development of automation on the one hand, while on the other hand mass political development is low. The situation with the United States population reminds me of Germany after Hitler. The Germans criticized Hitler for not winning the war. In the same way the majority of the people in the United States are

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

dissatisfied with Johnson because he did not win in Vietnam,
not because he is at war.

You said that the world movement for peace is weak. We absolutely do not agree. But the most important weakness is in the United States because the nation as a whole supports the war in Vietnam. Even if we agree that the achievements of the CP, USA are great, nevertheless the decisive role must be played by the nation. We will see what the next election will bring. I wonder, would Johnson win if the elections were held next week?

This situation is very complex. We cannot give all the answers and we do not know which way events will lead. We can discuss the question of negotiations on the war in Vietnam and first of all we do not know if negotiations would produce any results. But the main thing to remember is that the Vietnamese do not think so. In our opinion the United Nations cannot meddle in this affair because to do so would destroy the effectiveness of the Geneva Conference. We asked the Vietnamese comrades to be more "flexible" but needless to say we support them completely. If we were to talk of a "military solution" this would mean that both sides think alike. While we counsel flexibility, nevertheless the important fact is that the key to peace or war is in Washington.

Hall responded: We can agree on your last remark but with all due respect to Comrade Gomulka and his experienced leadership, I would not be honest if I did not say that we disagree with his assessment of the situation in the United States. It is too negative. It leaves out the political potential that would come into play under certain conditions.

We do not renege on our own responsibilities by asking for more struggle in other parts of the world. We fully accept our responsibility. We know that we are the Party of the workers in the center of world imperialism. We accept our responsibility. But we are not able to reverse the course

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

of United States imperialism. In a historic sense this is a weakness of our working class. But we discuss the weakness of our people in the relative dialectical sense. Therefore, this movement is much greater than indicated by Comrade Gomulka.

Concerning the question of the logic of events: If one speaks about the possibility of this conflict leading to a world war, we can agree that Johnson's escalation has the essence of what Comrade Gomulka has said. We will say that while no studied decision is made on the expansion of the war, the logic of events could lead to a major war just as Comrade Gomulka said. But I raise the question whether a maximum effort has been made to divert this logic of events not only in Vietnam but also on the question of China and its influence on the Vietnam war and the world communist movement. Must we accept the inevitability of going to the brink, or should we not seek to divert this process? It is my feeling generally that it is the role of the Marxist Parties to pursue an active probing of new avenues of diverting and avoiding this process. By unleashing greater political struggle against United States imperialism, we can divert this logic of events and see a great unleashing of the political potential in the United States. I ponder upon the alternative to this course and I find the alternative a rather grim one.

We had a discussion with the Vietnamese comrades and they told us about the problems that they have had with China. The CP of the Soviet Union briefed us also. The main point is that the question is one of probing for openings, although I repeat that we have no concrete answers. Our struggle in the United States will not depend upon the discovery of these answers; whether the answers are found or not, we will continue the struggle. At this moment we are not strong enough to reverse the tide of imperialism but we cannot accept the idea that the people of the United States are like the Germans after the last war. In regard to your remarks concerning the Pugwash Conference, I cannot answer concretely because I do not

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

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know who was there. Perhaps the United States delegation represented the State Department, although that is not necessarily so. Perhaps those people have taken an anti-war stand but they are not ready to do so in the context of an international conference. When they returned home they might be charged with "conspiring against the United States." You have to realize that tactically a people fighting its own government faces great ideological problems.

I must repeat that there is a sizeable anti-imperialist movement in the United States and what is more it is comprised of the more advanced people, the more educated people, who work in the general peace movement. We have an agreement on some basic problems but it is natural that we approach the question of the form of struggle on the basis of our own situation. I must admit that this trip is a new experience for me since for more than 30 years I have been unable to travel. This may seem strange to you since you have participated in so many world conferences, etc. Therefore, most of my thoughts are only rudimentary, just impressions as it were.

One such impression I have picked up is that there is no "oneness" in the world communist movement. I get the feeling that in some socialist countries they are content to "let things alone" when it comes to other Parties and that there is no real concern about other Parties. Also some Parties have no information about the struggles of other Parties.

As a result of the isolation of the CP, USA by the repressive travel restrictions imposed by the United States Government, we had no experience and knowledge of the struggles of the Party in Uruguay where I recently visited. There I learned how ignorant I was of that Party's problems. It is my belief that you cannot build a world movement based only on abstractions. Therefore, I have a concrete proposal to make. I would like to propose the creation of an international communist press agency for the dissemination of information to the Party press and the Parties of all the

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

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countries of the world. This should be a most modern agency, utilizing all the latest and most modern techniques and equipment. By the use of such an agency all the Parties would be accurately informed concerning the struggles and problems of all the other Parties. In this way the communist press would become recognized as the most complete and accurate source of information concerning matters in the world communist movement. Although the "World Marxist Review" is an international magazine, it is not and was never intended to be such an agency as I am proposing. The "World Marxist Review" is a theoretical journal and is not a press agency. Neither is this function fulfilled by Tass since this is a USSR Government agency. Therefore, I am proposing that a new entirely separate world communist press agency be established for this purpose.

Gomulka continued the discussion: You have discussed many problems but I feel that you are not really oriented in regard to some questions. On the question of mass protest actions, not a day goes by when we do not have meetings in Poland to protest the United States war in Vietnam. I get the impression that you think that we organized the smashing of United States Embassy windows. Actually we used our police to prevent it. But this is a form of protest. We also think that the United States communists can do this sort of thing sometimes also. It will not hurt.

The relationships between Parties are so complex and so difficult that sometimes one cannot give a systematic answer. Each nation is different on an economic level in political matters, etc., and the standards in some are diametrically different. Sooner or later after a lot of discussion, we are bound to have disagreements. You said that each Party seems to live alone. There is "no oneness" you said. Of course socialist countries do pay attention to domestic problems. These are ruling government Parties and must pay attention to all the problems in our countries. But at the

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DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
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1966

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same time we can cite hundreds of examples of international solidarity where we are helping each other. To bring this to the level of specific problems, we can point to many articles about your Party's struggles against persecution. We are aware of the McCarran law and its registration provision requiring the registration of your Party as a foreign agency. We follow your press and the bourgeois press of the United States and what they say about you. Other examples of our international solidarity are the military, economic and moral help which we are furnishing to the Vietnamese. That is more than words. Struggling countries and Parties will always receive material and moral support from us. I cannot touch upon all aspects of Party relations in this brief discussion but I do not think that we are secluded or not interested in others. You cannot imagine the problems a ruling party faces. - I know that I never imagined it.

We are all aware why there is no unity among the Parties of the world and why there is a lack of unity in the socialist camp. We all know who is to blame. A situation has developed in the world that we could not foresee. Even the leading theoreticians could not foresee this situation. I do not know how long this stage will last, but sooner or later it will pass. Then the socialist camp will be united. We are aware that the disunity of their camp is not good. We underestimated the strength of nationalism, the tendencies to chauvinism, to hegemonism. These are basic factors in China's policy. They will be overcome.

On the question of information, let me say that not one Party in the socialist world has complained that they lack information from us. We publish newspapers, journals, etc., with this information. In addition to the press there is an exchange of information among the Parties. As far as the necessity of world-wide information is concerned, the "World Marxist Review" is such a source of international information. In regard to your proposal for an international communist press bureau, at this time I cannot express a definite opinion.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

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This organization would be mainly for an exchange of information of Parties in capitalist countries. If this proposal comes up we will go along with it and participate and help to organize it. I personally do not believe that such an agency would help. I am sure you realize that such an organization would stimulate the charge that it was passing on "orders from Moscow."

Dear Comrade Hall, we are aware of your situation and your struggles. We have gone through the same struggles ourselves in the days of bourgeois Poland when we were in prison and continued the struggle. We felt it on our skin. So we know what you are going through. We appreciate your difficulties and are happy over your achievements, although at the beginning we were somewhat skeptical. We know how difficult it is to work when you are in an illegal and semi-legal status, when you are being followed by the police, etc. We are glad to hear of your achievement among youth and the breakthrough you have scored. We are glad to hear that your Party is growing in importance. We agree with you that the "potential" is there and if you have not yet fully realized it, we do not blame you. There are situations in the world that can bring about "explosions" among the masses although sometimes it takes tens of years. The world is on the march and the progressive forces in the United States will someday come into their own. We also know that numbers do not decide the importance of a Party. So we know that you will come into your own. This is how we evaluate your Party and we want to extend to you our best wishes for your success.

Hall concluded the discussion: I appreciate your interest and your concern. Let me make clear that in presenting these problems I don't want to give you the impression that I am being totally negative or that I do not appreciate the situation in the socialist countries and the help that they are giving to Vietnam. In this brief discussion I suggested certain weaknesses but I do not want to leave the impression that this is all I see.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSION BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND
WLADYSLAW GOMULKA, FIRST SECRETARY,
POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY, SEPTEMBER,
1966

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From our viewpoint this exchange between our two Parties has been beneficial. It adds to our thinking and sharpens our thoughts. That is one of the purposes of such exchanges and probings. I would add further that because our Party has been most isolated for years being unable to travel, etc., that we have a high appreciation of such exchanges especially with the PUWP, since your Party carries such enormous experiences.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REC 31
~~ROUTE IN ENVELOPE~~
 FBI

Date: 10/22/66

Transmit the following in _____
 (Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
 (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS - C

NAYCA

D. D. Sullivan

ATK

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND JESUS FARIA, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF VENEZUELA, MOSCOW, USSR, AUGUST, 1966."

The information set forth in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* during the period of 10/15-16/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed LHM is classified "~~SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 1 - 904 9th St. Bldg
 3 - Bureau (Encl. 4) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1 - Chicago

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REC 111

OCT 26 1966

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

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CG 134-46 Sub B

In regard to the meeting referred to in the enclosed LHM, CG 5824-S* reported that this was held on 8/19/66 in Moscow. Present, in addition to GUS HALL and representing the Communist Party, USA, were ARNOLD JOHNSON, a member of the National Board, Communist Party, USA, and the source.

For the Bureau's information, "The Worker", an East Coast communist publication, of 9/18/66, carried an article on Page 3 entitled "Exiled Venezuela Communist Party Leader Affirms Need for Unity in Talks with GUS HALL." This article, datelined Moscow, 8/21/66, pertains to the meeting reported by CG 5824-S* and details of which are set forth in the enclosed LHM. While the article, which is rather extensive, relates to the meeting referred to in the LHM and is alleged to be a summary of the discussion occurring, in the opinion of the Chicago Office it does not have the specifics as supplied by CG 5824-S*.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
October 22, 1966

~~SECRET~~

~~REC 91~~

MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND JESUS FARIA,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
VENEZUELA, MOSCOW, USSR, AUGUST, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in October, 1966, advised as follows:

In mid-August, 1966, Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, as part of his tour of the socialist countries, stopped in Moscow, USSR, where he met Jesus Faria, General Secretary of the CP of Venezuela. Faria had been expelled from Venezuela during the early part of 1966 and has now taken up residence in exile in Moscow. This meeting between Hall and Faria and the ensuing discussions which lasted several hours, was opened by Faria and the essence of his remarks at this time was as follows.

There is no real split in the CP of Venezuela. There has just been a wrong estimate by one member of our Political Bureau (PB), Douglas Bravo. He is young, only 30-35 years of age, and is primitive politically but a courageous and persistent one. He just let his Napoleonic complex get the better of him. We knew of his secret coded messages to and from Cuba. Bravo has now joined with the group from the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR); these are left revolutionaries, a group who aim to get rid of all the old Party leaders. They are "verbal revolutionaries," militants who charge the CP of Venezuela with abandoning the struggle.

Barry NY 1936-31

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~Group 1~~

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downgrading and
declassification~~

(ENCLOSURE)

100-428091-5836

MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND JESUS FARIA,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
VENEZUELA, MOSCOW, USSR, AUGUST, 1966

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The rupture in the CP of Venezuela took place as follows: Some members of the PB, CP of Venezuela, in prison sent a memo to the CP. The Left turned this over to the police. Now, these leaders, including Eduardo and Gustavo Machado and others, are charged with being capitulators. Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba then said that no one in the CP of Venezuela leadership is worth anything except Bravo. According to Castro, "Today, no one can be a Marxist except one who uses a rifle." By this reasoning, therefore, the fascists are Marxists.

~~Venezuela~~ Then there was the letter signed by Bravo and by America/Martin, the Commander-in-Chief and General Secretary, respectively, of the Armed Forces of National Liberation and the National Liberation Front (FALN-FLN) dated May 30, 1966. This letter was actually written in Havana, and was published by Fidel Castro in "Granma," the official organ of the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba. The signatures on this letter were "forged." According to the letter, the leadership of the revolution in Venezuela had been unified under a single leadership. Fidel Castro agrees with the thesis that "progress" can be achieved only through a split. This is the thesis of Betancourt and DeLeon. They want to divide the movement but they have really failed. When this problem was placed before the ranks of the CP of Venezuela and the youth, they were unanimous in their support of our CP. Unity, they said, is priceless. The youth, who have a big group in Cuba, also stand by the CP of Venezuela.

The CP of Cuba ordered their military personnel to return from Venezuelawithout stopping in Moscow or Prague. However, our boys all came back to us. Even those who were studying at Lumumba Friendship of the People's University in Moscow came back without a single exception. Among the guerrillas, the youth are all with the CP of Venezuela. There are 900 Party members in prison, all of whom are with the CP. All are in favor of unity.

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MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
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A number of Central Committee members of the CP of Venezuela are now in Cuba to talk things over. They have characterized Armando ~~Hart~~ ~~Davalos~~, a member of the PB and a Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of Cuba, as a "kid" who has no real understanding. Neither do the others in Cuba. Fidel Castro received this group and while he was "politer," in essence, his level of understanding is the same. Castro said, "we will help all revolutionary groups or people" even if such groups are against the CP. Castro even helps a group called "Vanguard" in Venezuela, which consists of only 13 people. He called them real revolutionaries and has adopted this bunch also. We had people representing us in the Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Organization and Castro put a woman who was a "spy" in our place to check on us. We think these people will fail and this includes the "Dulas group" of 10 to 12 people.

This alleged "split" will continue for sometime but we have support from our people and from all other Parties who believe in unity. Such splits have occurred in other Latin American Parties but it looks particularly bad in our Party because we are also engaged in an armed struggle. The Chinese say to us that "your dead are not dead." When asked why, they say it is so "because we say so" and because "they fought imperialism." Fidel Castro is saying the same thing in a different manner when he says that when those who were in prison and were tortured or assassinated by the FBI died for an "idea" and that that is not fighting. Castro says that the CP is the best ally of imperialism. Such nonsense discredits Castro. The Cubans used to help us but now they do not want us to think for ourselves but only to follow the Cuban line and not the Venezuelan line. The Cubans only give "conditional aid"; that is, they only help the group that applauds Fidel Castro, and all of whose ideas, tactics, strategy, and general orientation come from Havana.

Concerning the trip to the United States by Pablo ~~Neruda~~, the great poet from Chile, the Cubans included him in

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MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
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their general attack against all who are not guerrillas. Neruda was too timid in his reply and has now been called to Havana. If any of us from the CP of Venezuela were to go to the United States and talk to the CP, USA, we would also be called to Havana as traitors. We believe that we should go to countries when we are invited. We must know how to use the bourgeoisie. Castro uses ideological terror--if anyone steps on United States soil, he is a traitor according to Castro; but a charlatan can step on Cuban soil and he is called a hero if he uses fighting phrases. We will not be intimidated. The "Left" exaggerates their strength in order to get more aid from Cuba. We do not exaggerate our strength and recognize that we are not ready yet to take power. We will not go to Cuba unless we are sent by the Central Committee of our Party and will not go to bow or to be abused.

Our people have talked to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CP of Cuba and Minister without portfolio of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. We told him that someday he will have to speak up and cannot remain forever silent. Fidel Castro's speech on April 17, 1966, was really crazy. He stated that there can be "no socialism until imperialism has been destroyed." His July 26, 1966 speech also was crazy. We should answer those speeches quietly, calmly, and in a comradely manner, but nevertheless answer and clarify. This would help the other Latin American Parties also. There is a kind of complex that the Latin American Parties have and they are afraid to answer the CP of Cuba. We must set the example. It must not be forgotten that seven men did not make the Cuban revolution. What about the forty years' existence of the CP of Cuba? What about the movement before July 26, 1956? Castro has no inheritance and independent parties will not bow to the Cuban line. We know our countries best. Our armed struggle is not the major part of our struggle; it is only a small part. Therefore, we are using all forms of struggle.

We, the CP of Venezuela, admit that we have weaknesses in our trade union work.

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MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND JESUS FARIA,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
VENEZUELA, MOSCOW, USSR, AUGUST, 1966

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At this point Hall commenced speaking and the essence of his remarks was as follows: I agree not only with the ideas and words you have expressed but also with the spirit of what you are saying. On a miniature scale the CP, USA faces similar problems. The Cubans have given up their struggle in the United States and, as a matter of fact, this helps us. We give credit to you, Comrade Faria, and to the CP of Venezuela for following a correct policy. You have saved your Party from a real split. The world movement faces a new situation. We must face up to it. Our CP, USA has gone through more factional struggles than perhaps any other and, therefore, we are experts on this subject. It is our experience that it is difficult to differentiate between the work of the factionalists and the work of the enemy. We insisted upon a certain type of struggle in order to resolve the differences and to make this differentiation.

We face this on a world scale. The CIA is the key to United States imperialist designs in Latin America. They plan to split CPs and the labor movement. How can a Party differentiate? This comes not only from Cuba but also from China. We must have "standards of conduct" for internal discussion of differences. I placed this subject in that same way in my report of a few years ago.

We also had the same problem with the Cubans that the CP of Venezuela has experienced. They follow a policy of supporting those little groups. We asked them to stop but received the nasty answer "we decide whom we support." You remember how the delegation of United States university students was hailed in Havana and yet this delegation included enemy agents including Phillip Abbott Luce and others. But that's what happens when you "support any group." The Cubans follow a policy of interference in the internal affairs of other Parties. Their attack upon Pablo Neruda was vulgar interference and displayed petty bourgeois nationalism. Marx spoke out against such petty bourgeois radicalism. Fundamentally, Castro's starting point is not the working class.

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MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND JESUS FARIA,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
VENEZUELA, MOSCOW, USSR, AUGUST, 1966

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In regard to Neruda. When I spoke at the CP of Uruguay Congress, I quoted Neruda purposely in order to undo some of the damage done by the Cubans. They should not isolate the people of the United States like the Cubans try to do. We can compare the last trip to the United States by Ernesto "Che" Guevara with Neruda's trip and we can see that Neruda was much more effective. When I say this I am expressing not just my opinion but the feeling of our Party on this.

Proletarian internationalism is very important for our Party. We work in the citadel of United States imperialism and an ideological fog is permeating all levels of life in the United States.

I disagree with the Tri-Continental Declaration and particularly with the point that there should be "no more talk," that the dialog is over. The problem of lack of information of what is going on in the international communist movement may lead me astray. I get the impression that some Parties are following two lines at one time: a military line and a peaceful line, with equal stress on each. In my opinion, this is not possible on the basis of our experience. You need one line of emphasis and not two. My discussions with our Colombian comrades demonstrate how one influences the other.

The attitude of the working class in Venezuela is important. It is obvious that they are not ready for armed struggle and you cannot have a revolution without the working class. It is not a question of what the CP does with the working class but what is the working class ready to do objectively. In the United States we have this problem and we are still working out our trade union policy.

A few years ago I raised the danger posed to the world movement by the CP of China attacks, not only because of the splits caused by them, but rather because of the indirect effect. In our factional struggles in the CP, USA we were turned away from the work at hand. But worse than that, the factional struggles inhibit the comrades who know reality and who are probing for the answers.

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MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
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GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
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In order to placate those who attacked them, the CP of China began to use revolutionary phrases. I am afraid this same thing is happening on a world scale. It is only during the past two years that we have united on the basis of reality after this period of factionalism.

This is a real problem. What is to be done? You Comrade Faria have said that we must discuss these questions. May I ask one specific question. What does a peasant think about when he picks up a rifle? Is he doing it for land or what? Perhaps this is a naive question to those who have been involved in armed revolutionary struggle.

In response, Faria commented as follows: As you say, there was this phenomenon of "two lines" and some of our comrades got "drunk" with that line. They thought that they could fight on two lines. The Government in Venezuela made the mistake of thinking that they could liquidate first the armed struggle and then liquidate our ideology. One of our biggest errors was to think that we could go forward on two fronts--armed and legal. In self-criticism I must admit that this was impossible. But revolutionary fever clouded the judgment of our comrades and in this could be seen the Cubans' influence. Now, we are trying to get back to reality.

In response to your question about the peasant picking up a rifle, it should be pointed out that the Venezuelan workers are not part of the armed struggle. After all, how can a worker leave his family, his job, etc., and go into the mountains to fight? Even some of our best comrades could not do this.

We were among those who set up a red guerrilla movement. We thought we would set up the guerrilla movement in the same way as was done by Mao Tse-tung in China, "Che" Guevara in Cuba, and General Giap in Vietnam, but we did a bad job of it. We sacrificed our best men in this cause. There were very few peasants who joined us and most of them said "when you take the cities, we will join you."

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MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND JESUS FARIA,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
VENEZUELA, MOSCOW, USSR, AUGUST, 1966

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Our Party's relationship to the working masses is substantially correct. However, we did make some mistakes in building dual trade unions. As a result, the CP became isolated. We are now working on reforms in trade unions which is where our successes come from. We have a cadre of youth with four-five years in the CP.

In regard to our youth in the universities, this year there was a challenge to the turn of the CP as leader of the university youth. The others said, "let's vote." We agreed to this and in the end result we beat the others 4,500 to 3,000. In the high schools we got over 50 per cent of the vote of these youth and beat out all the others combined.

At this point Hall again commenced speaking and delivered the following remarks: As a result of my discussions both here with you and those when I was in Uruguay, I am most impressed by the CPs in Latin America. In order to keep the CP, USA informed on Latin American Party affairs, what the CP, USA really needs is a United States communist traveling correspondent like Wilfred Burchett.

On this trip I hope to exchange concrete ideas with the comrades in all the countries I visit. There is a great need for information on the various struggles taking place throughout the world, the strikes, the demonstrations, the struggle for peace, etc. I will propose to these comrades the establishment of a new world communist press agency. This agency will give attention to the main struggles in the world. It will utilize teletypes and cables and advanced methods and will utilize only responsible people. Thus, in "The Worker" we would have the most authoritative news in the United States. Our people in the United States would know the true facts about the struggles in the world, for example, the struggles in Venezuela. Tass and Prensa Latina do not fulfill this function as they are not fact sheets or news agencies. Such a news agency that I am proposing would help to build the unity of the international communist movement.

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MEETING BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND JESUS FARIA,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF
VENEZUELA, MOSCOW, USSR, AUGUST, 1966

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In regard to youth, it is our experience that this generation is different in character since it is a product of the atomic bomb, automation, the growth of socialism, the liberation movement, etc. In my opinion we need a world conference of communist youth to exchange experiences and to build a proper method of youth work. As a result of this conference, no world organization would be established but it could set up an apparatus for the exchange of information and ideas on this important subject.

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ROUTE IN

FBI

Date: 10/22/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Shiffrin (lost)
Deatman
CS/oc

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "COMMENTS OF ANTONIN NOVOTNY, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND PRESIDENT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, SEPTEMBER, 1966."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S* on 10/15-20/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

~~TOP SECRET~~ The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 1-904 940 with Serial
③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-334637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW
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6 OCT 26 1966

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Special Agent in Charge

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The meeting referred to in the enclosed letterhead memorandum at which NOVOTNY delivered his comments occurred on 9/17/66 in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and was held at the Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia, headquarters. Participating in this meeting were GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA; ARNOLD JOHNSON, member of the National Board and Public Relations Director, CP, USA; and, CG 5824-S*.

For the Bureau's information, "Rude Pravo," the official organ of the Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia, in its issues of 9/14 and 17/66, which the source has made available, reflects information concerning HALL's visit to Czechoslovakia at that time and shows that he arrived in Czechoslovakia on 9/14/66. There is no information available to the Chicago Office either in US or foreign language publications which reflect the details set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum regarding NOVOTNY's remarks. However, it is entirely possible that the Czechoslovak press or radio may have carried some remarks concerning HALL's meeting with NOVOTNY which are not available to us.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

October 22, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF ANTONIN NOVOTNY, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND PRESIDENT OF
THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, SEPTEMBER, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in late October, 1966, advised as follows:

In September, 1966, Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in the company of Vladimir Koucky, a Secretary of the Central Committee, CPCZ, met at the Central Committee, CPCZ, headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia, with a leading representative of a Communist Party (CP) in a Western country.

At this time, Novotny presented comments dealing with the current position of the CPCZ on a number of matters relating to both internal affairs in Czechoslovakia and the international communist movement. The essence of Novotny's remarks was as follows:

I just want to say a few words. You have seen our country and how you will have to judge for yourself as to the results we have achieved.

Presently, we are going through a very difficult stage. It is something like a ship being buffeted around in a rough sea--off course. It is not easy to strictly adhere to socialist principles while at the same time try to absorb all the new technology and science in the world. However, if the socialist states are to progress, they cannot remain in isolation. We must take everything new and good in the capitalist world and use it within the framework of our social system.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-428091-5837
ENCLOSURE

~~TOP SECRET~~
Group 1

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declassification

COMMENTS OF ANTONIN NOVOTNY, FIRST
SECRETARY, CPCZ, AND PRESIDENT OF
THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC,
SEPTEMBER, 1966

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While the United States is involved in its aggressive actions in a war in Vietnam, the United States and the other capitalist states do not want a world war. We also are afraid of such a war and although we are prepared to fight, we do not want the suffering and dying that would come with it.

We want to fight on other fronts, like in industry, for peace, etc.; a victory here might even bring us more difficulties because if we achieve them, the people will want more and more and we will have to give it to them. So, our Party's task is now to develop the creative abilities of our people and build new techniques and scientific bases. The old bases which we had inherited from capitalism are now outmoded.

Our Party's position is not one of revisionism as the Chinese charge. We just seek to keep up with the contemporary world while holding onto our socialist principles. If we kept telling our people to read, read the works of Mao Tse-tung, etc., can you imagine what would happen? Our people would go crazy. They do read and are interested in the rest of the world and not only in "the thoughts of a Mao." There are some of our own people who attack us from the "left." They suggest that the law of value should be free from life, etc. However, these people are in insignificant minority. In the past these same people waited for their orders from a center. Now, it is hard for them when there is no box from which they can pick up their orders,

We are a small country but are quite industrially developed. When we nationalized things at the time we came into power, it was like capturing everything, including the fleas. Yet, we have succeeded in principle. Still, today, some people cannot work without exact orders. This will have to change. When we took over we did not know many things, but we did learn and are continuing to learn. Now, that we have our own educated intelligentsia, we can do many things previously impossible. There really was no real complaint about our old intelligentsia and they did help us culturally and technically, at least most of them did.

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COMMENTS OF ANTONIN NOVOTNY, FIRST
SECRETARY, CPCZ, AND PRESIDENT OF
THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC,
SEPTEMBER, 1966

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I mention these things to you because they are related to the deepening process of socialist democracy.

In this contemporary period we have found it essential to switch to a system where not only the authorities decide but where the people are also involved to the greatest possible extent. This involvement not only includes administrators but needs the broad participation of the people. At the same time this new system will not replace elected bodies or authority. Already we have been experimenting in certain areas and cities and have allowed the people to run their own lives, government, industry, schools, etc. These people will be elected according to our Constitution and will have the aid of all the people.

We are also now weighing proposals and forms as to methods of involving the working people in the factories. Up to now, we have given them expression through the trade unions and through the Party. We will continue to do this through the trade unions but the workers will also elect representatives and have some say about budgets, production, wages, etc., of their plants. This is not the Yugoslavia method. All of this is part of the deepening development of socialist democracy which is being directed by the CP. However, we also want it made clear that in no way do we want to lessen the role of our Party.

If we speak of a communist society--which we do not very often--we do not see the possibility of moving to communism without the CP playing the leading role while involving the people.

In our country we have three social groups--the workers, the cooperative farmers, and the intelligentsia. In regard to the intelligentsia, they will not pass over to the working class like Marx said under capitalism by being "reduced to proletarians." We had thought this true in the past and had lowered the wages and tried equalitarianism in regard to the intelligentsia. But this was no good.

In agriculture we have a serious lack of manpower which has been the result of our country's rapid industrialization. In the other socialist countries the agricultural

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COMMENTS OF ANTONIN NOVOTNY, FIRST
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people are paid in kind, so we are different. We must on the contrary promise wages, apartments, Sundays off, pensions, medical care, etc. We must give them the same benefits the workers receive in industry. So, this is the manner in which cooperative farms work now. The workers receive a monthly wage, housing, and other benefits. We are even building modern apartment buildings on the collective farms.

Here is a concrete example of how we must think differently in Czechoslovakia. In Romania, they recently formed an agricultural cooperative on the national basis. We have to do things differently. If we attempted to do this, we might be faced with a union of collective farmers pushing for their own interests or a group of intellectuals pushing for their interests, etc. If we ever agreed to such an organization, it would have to be within the framework of the unions.

In our country the cooperatives actually own the land they till but the farmers are actually wage earners. Since we want democracy to continue, we must continue to allow them to elect their own leaders. The same principles must apply to the trade unions. This will not be easy but we have been trying to bring this about since 1962. Throughout the country we have mobilized thousands of people to form a "braintrust." This is a large group whose main task is to ponder and give ideas and suggest new forms.

In regard to pensions, our country has been working under a system of pensions established in 1957. When the report was presented at that time on this matter, there was one big mistake. We took the conditions existing at that time as the basis for our program. Thus, we started on a false premise. What we did not foresee was that in the future some 42% of the women in the country would enter into industry. A woman's life span is 75 years and a man's is 70 years and today both life spans are still rising. When we computed the national income which was to come in future years, we came to the conclusion that by 1980 we would be bankrupt because at that time half of the nation would be retired and on pension.

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Some people have continued to work after their retirement age which has resulted in increasing their pensions which are based on their new wage base and income. The older people were becoming rich although their contribution to labor was declining. This occurred because of our limited experiences. Now, we try to avoid such mistakes by drawing in numerous and all kinds of people to help us draw correct conclusions. Now, we are ready to start work. Our discussions on this problem lasted seven years and this is one reason why in the West they thought we were abandoning socialism.

The CPs of Italy and France keep in close contact with us and study our economic situation. They may someday have these same problems. We have many old democratic traditions in Czechoslovakia.

The cult of the personality affected us terribly. We have been trying and have been repairing the damage of the past and the damage from the cult of the personality. We are constantly working to insure that nothing like this can ever happen again. To prevent it, we have given more constitutional powers to the Assembly and less power to the President, etc.

This, then, in brief is our present internal situation in Czechoslovakia. Our Party is strong. We have now abandoned the idea of Party candidacies and take people directly into Party membership now. The people now know each other and have settled down. The population shifts have been stabilized. The Party has great authority even though at times some of our discussions may become sharp. We constantly fight wrong views but are not afraid to have people speak up. We do not want a conformist society--a uniform, monotonous society. One big advantage we have is our educational system.

We realize that the capitalist states are strong and that their material and their ideological weapons are strong. The capitalists know how to use the backward sentiments of people, particularly religion. They not only use the Catholics but the Moslems, etc. For a recent example, take the Moslems in Indonesia, they murdered hundreds of thousands.

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COMMENTS OF ANTONIN NOVOTNY, FIRST
SECRETARY, CPCZ, AND PRESIDENT OF
THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC,
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A few comments on the international movement. Our position remains unchanged. We favor a conference of all the Parties, not for the purpose of recreating the old Comintern but rather to discuss and review the problems which face the world. In evolution we should not lose sight of the need for unity and must try to insure peace in the world. We are trying hard for such a conference of the world CPs. We do not view such an international conference as one which would be giving orders but rather as one which would establish a common platform. Such a platform would not regulate anyone. The platform would be applied independently by each Party under their own special conditions. It would be wrong for Parties to isolate themselves in the socialist countries or in the capitalist world. Parties who have already won cannot ignore those Parties still fighting for socialist society and power. It is our position that the CP of China cannot any longer prevent such a conference from taking place.

What is happening today in China is sheer madness. Mao Tse-tung has run amok. He lets fourteen-year-old children destroy and replace the Party. He is destroying the Party cadre. The Chinese are kicking out the Party leaders and the Party intelligentsia. Mao is now called upon to bless the "Red Guards." We have heard that the working people in some Provinces are arming themselves and defending factories and Party premises from the Red Guards. In instances they are jailing Red Guards. Mao's wife reportedly is running the Red Guards.

Lately, some sharp contradictions have appeared in China. The CP of China leaders have failed to influence anyone internationally and do not even influence Asian Parties. Peking's efforts to make it a "Mecca" failed.

We know that Mao was ill for a period of time. During that period we have learned that serious discussion took place amongst the leadership regarding succession and power and that these discussions also reached the Regions, Districts, etc. The discussions also reached the intelligentsia who discussed these problems in a realistic way and attempted to arrive at solutions as to what to do. But Mao came back and that swimming story is nonsense. On his return, the efforts were started to place Mao on a human pedestal. The army is still aloof although it is likely that Mao relies on the army. This is the only reason why he used Marshal Lin Biao as his deputy.

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COMMENTS OF ANTONIN NOVOTNY, FIRST
SECRETARY, CPCZ, AND PRESIDENT OF
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The Chinese are trying to cover up past mistakes and shortcomings while they prepare for war and eventually a conflict with the USSR. Mao is working to create a war between the USSR and the United States, the two real world powers. The United States is not afraid of China but worries about the USSR and everyone knows this fact. The Chinese feel that if they can create such a conflict, both countries would be weakened and they could then occupy other territories in Asia, including some territories of the USSR. But so far, they have even failed in bringing forth such a confrontation.

We feel that an international conference of Parties should take place without the Chinese Party present.

In regard to Vietnam. We know that the North Vietnamese are afraid of the Chinese. For centuries they lived under the Chinese yoke. We appreciate their fears but cannot agree with their subservience to Chinese policy. We are in favor of opening a second front, a political front, in connection with Vietnam while at the same time not lessening our efforts on the military front. It is a mistake for the Vietnamese to allow President Johnson to get away with his demagoguery on the matter of peace. Here, they are inflexible. The Chinese see and talk to the United States of America in Warsaw, so why don't the Vietnamese use this method? Or why not use Geneva or the United Nations Assembly? In the latter manner, countries would raise their problems. This would help you and the progressive forces in the United States of America.

To expect that the Vietnamese will kill off all United States troops in South Vietnam is nonsense. President Johnson is vulnerable like a man on a tiger. To let him say he is a man of peace and not expose this demagoguery is silly. We will continue to back the North Vietnamese even more than in the past but we will still try to influence them politically. However, since they still listen to the Chinese, this will not be easy. We have had discussions on this matter with the Bulgarian Party and they agree with our position also.

In regard to the proposal for the establishment of a new, modern information and news service to exchange information between World CPs, I can tell you I agree with such a proposal. I believe there is a need for new informational

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organs. It is as important for us as it is for you to get current, accurate information. However, the allegations made that one-third of the population of this country does not know what capitalism is is an illusion. Our frontiers have been opened to tourists. If we had foreign exchange, we would permit all our people to travel. It was nonsense to be isolated, but this was necessary during a certain period. We shall continue to keep our doors open for all types of opinions and art except that of the most reactionary nature. There have been, however, some negative aspects to the tourist trade like drug traffic, etc. It is also a fact that when some of our people tour, a few do not come back. Our attitude is what the hell, let them stay. Some are already begging to come back. I can cite the instance of a doctor presently in New York City who wants to come back. Some Jewish professionals have also left the country for Israel and that is all right if they want to go back. I must tell you, however, that I am kept busy with pleas from people that they be allowed to come back to Czechoslovakia. We let our students travel and they have probed deep in the real situation in Great Britain, France, West Germany, etc. Such a trip made them better citizens and they appreciate socialism more on their return.

Our Party has some strong traditions of belonging to the international movement. We have a strong working class with international traditions. We are trying to keep this up while at the same time keeping our Party informed.

In regard to Cuba and Castro, we feel that they improvise constantly. They misuse all of our aid and they get a lot of it.

We are aware of the necessity of international solidarity and will always be.

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~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/19/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

Re Chicago radiogram 10/9/66.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND LEONID I. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND OTHER LEADING MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, SEPTEMBER, 1966."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished during the period of 10/8-13/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN, by CG5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

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 (3)-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
 1-Chicago

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428091-5838
 6 OCT 26 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

Relative to the information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum concerning the meeting of 9/28/66, the source noted that it had been set up by the Central Committee, CPSU, for the benefit of HALL. Originally, when HALL had arrived in Moscow in the latter part of 8/66, leading representatives of the CPSU, including LEONID I. BREZHNEV, General Secretary, CPSU, were not present in the city and were not available for such meetings. Accordingly, HALL thereafter took an extended tour which brought him to the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, and then back to Moscow for this meeting. In addition to HALL's presence at this meeting, other representatives of the CP, USA present were ARNOLD JOHNSON, member of the National Board and Public Relations Director, CP, USA, and CG 5824-S*.

The only public information known to have been released concerning this meeting was the communique published in "Pravda" on 9/30/66 under the caption, "A Meeting in the CPSU Central Committee." The text of the communique on this meeting appeared in the "Daily Review" published by Novosti Press Agency, which distributes official translations from the Soviet press, in its issue of 9/30/66.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

October 19, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND LEONID I. BREZHNEV,
GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET
UNION, AND OTHER LEADING MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, SEPTEMBER, 1966

During October, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

In late September, 1966, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), while on tour of the socialist countries, visited the Soviet Union. On September 28, 1966, Hall met with Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and other leading members of the CPSU, including Mikhail A. Suslov, a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, and Boris N. Ponomarev, a Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU.

Brezhnev commenced the discussion at this meeting as follows:

Welcome. First allow me to congratulate you on your recent convention and your election as General Secretary. This was a great event. Reaction must have been surprised by these events. As you are aware, we were very concerned in the days of your persecution and didn't know what the future had in store for you in your "free country." The historic clock indicates the direction in which society is now moving. Your time will come.

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ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5838

DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, CPUSA, AND LEONID I. BREZHNEV,
GENERAL SECRETARY, CPSU, AND OTHER LEADING
MEMBERS OF THE CPSU, SEPTEMBER, 1966

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How did you like the Soviet Union? How have your travels been in our country?

In response to Brezhnev's inquiry, Hall replied as follows: From what I have seen, it appears that there is an explosion of creative energy everywhere.

Brezhnev then continued: As you know, the western parts of our country were completely destroyed during World War II. Now, we have rebuilt this area and production has surpassed four times the pre-World War II levels.

In reply, Hall stated: During my visits to the other socialist countries, I have vividly seen the sacrifices that the Soviet people have made on behalf of these other states.

Brezhnev continued: I frequently visit the other countries from time to time and have observed how they have developed. In recent discussions I note that the prestige of the Parties in those countries has increased. However, we need to remember the histories of these countries. In Poland there has always been an anti-Russian feeling and this fact was also true in Hungary. Then, of course, in Germany, whom we defeated, there was a lot of anti-Russian feeling. However, the Parties in these countries have played a tremendous role in bringing about an understanding and in cementing the friendship between our peoples.

Hall, in response, stated during my travels in the other countries, I watched the thinking and feelings of the people and found that there is a lot of good feeling towards the Soviet Union.

To this, Brezhnev commented as follows: This is interesting to hear, particularly since you look at these matters with fresh eyes. We are perhaps too close to these countries and sometimes fail to see such things.

Hall continued: At my meeting in the German steel plant, the workers were first cold but later warmed up. It

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DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
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GENERAL SECRETARY, CPSU, AND OTHER LEADING
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was clear to me that in the Soviet Union there is a greater understanding of proletarian internationalism.

Brezhnev commented as follows: Well, you must remember that we have been in existence for fifty years and this should show up. We are fifty years old but this is really not a historic age. Half of our country is now made up of youth; in fact, the age level in some of our plants is only 25 years.

At this point, Hall delivered some extensive remarks, the essence of which was as follows:

The basic problem today, as we see it, is Vietnam. On this trip I have been probing for ways and means of mobilizing people and for the development of new avenues of approach. Last night, we met with the Ambassador from North Vietnam. This was a good meeting, but it dampened the spirit for looking for new avenues of approach. I approached the problem of Vietnam from the position of the internal situation in the United States. I mentioned disagreements within the United States ruling circles and stated that policies in the United States were fluid rather than frozen. I also made the point that the attitude of the United States people was against this war. I emphasized that the majority of the American people do not support the Vietnam war and that the imperialists cannot whip up hysteria like at the time of the Korean conflict. At that time there was Senator Joseph McCarthy and there was no broad anti-war movement.

I tried to point out that today it is politically wise to oppose the war in Vietnam and to pursue a moderate course because the majority of the people are against this war. Senator Robert Kennedy is a smart politician and does not follow President Johnson either on Vietnam or on Latin American policies. Recent polls have showed increased popularity for Senator Robert Kennedy.

I must say we disagree with certain comrades who say that the people in the United States are like the Germans

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during World War II and their relations with Hitler. The United States people are not passive. It is correct, of course, that there is some support for the war in Vietnam but the majority of the American people are against President Johnson's policies.

On the "split" in the ruling circles in the United States. There are some who do favor war now, all or nothing. These are the Pentagon people, the Goldwater reactionaries, and the like. But this is not the dominant attitude among the United States capitalists. My opinion is that they are looking for some way out and this is reflected by Senators J. W. Fulbright and W. Morse as well as in newspapers like the "New York Times" and the "St. Louis Post Dispatch." These Senators and newspapers believe other forms are needed besides aggression. For this reason, I say that the situation is not frozen. Of course, there is a logic in war and things can happen that people do not always plan.

illogic?

I tried to explain to the Ambassador from North Vietnam that everyone in the United States does not approach negotiations in the same manner. While President Johnson's, Secretary of State Dean Rusk's, and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's position may be demagoguery, others are looking for "a way out."

When the "teach-ins" on Vietnam first started, the Administration refused to show up and participate. However, later, because of the pressures, Administration leaders would show up but normally had nothing to discuss.

The big question is that of raising the political level of the struggle against United States imperialism. Such political mobilization is necessary because of the disagreements among United States capitalists. Many of the United States capitalists fear isolation and are using political mobilization to influence the course of the future.

I felt that Ambassador Andre Gromyko's speech in the United States was all right and that he could not say more. But this will not move people who believe in "negotiations." We do not have the answers on this problem but think that probing is necessary.

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We agreed with the basic position of the Ambassador of North Vietnam on the bombings, terror, etc. We also had no disagreements with him on the question of independence and justice. But we do feel that the question of new methods of struggle and flexible means to answer the demagoguery and to mobilize peace forces are necessary.

In France, Italy, we intend to discuss efforts to secure greater mobilization in the struggle against the war in Vietnam. We are not trying to cover up our own weaknesses when we talk of weaknesses of others. I do not say that simply because a majority is against the war in Vietnam, that the course of the current Administration in the United States will be changed. We have no illusions about bourgeois democracy or President Johnson and the Democratic Party's machinery. He would be re-elected as of today but this is no contradiction.

Brezhnev at this point interjected a question. We also have concluded that the people in the United States in main are not for the policies of aggression. Am I correct?

In response, Hall replied, yes. There is a growing dissatisfaction over this war at the expense of the welfare program. As a result of this war, inflation has become a problem and inflation was the real reason why the airline mechanics voted down the first proposals to end their strike. It is very difficult to say what the future holds or how these issues will be expressed politically. Most likely the negative features of the present situation will result in Republican gains in the next election. The Republicans will charge that President Johnson made this war in Vietnam into "an American war" with no allies.

Another interesting aspect to note is the number of peace candidates on the Democratic ticket during the last primaries. Some of those who lost at that time lost by only 3% or 4% of the vote. This is the first time such a thing has happened in the United States. Also new is the bringing together of peace forces and civil rights forces in the United States. They have set November 6-8, 1966, as special dates for demonstrations in the United States. So, you see, the movement for peace continues.

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Brezhnev then noted we in the Soviet Union have always had a high estimate of the anti-war movement in the United States.

Ponomarev at this point remarked that while we have had this estimate, we have also felt that the trade unions were still not fully active in the peace movement. Is this true?

In reply, Hall remarked as follows: While the latter may be true, there, nevertheless, have been strikes during this war. There have been more strikes than ever before. There are also trade union peace committees operating even though Meany-Lovestone are one hundred percent in their support of the Administration and the Vietnam war. The Administration moves in to try to break up the trade union peace movement with threats, etc. Harry Bridges and the new "good" contract he recently negotiated was a step backward for us on the Vietnam war. The Government obviously made some threats and Bridges, although a honest man and labor leader, "caved in."

Brezhnev then asked Hall do some in the ruling circles see that a military victory is impossible?

Hall replied yes, some. I know of some, even on Wall Street, who, in their self-interest and practicality, want to adjust to the new relationship of world forces. They believe that the present course of the United States is useless. The United States capitalists, we must realize, are practical men. This is another reason why I say the situation is not frozen. While these capitalists are not "progressives," they tactically want a different course. I believe in regard to President Johnson, that while he is "a warmonger" at the present and is escalating the war, that there is still a difference between him and former Senator Goldwater. There are also differences within the Democratic Party between Johnson and people like Senator Fulbright, Senator Kennedy, Senator Morse, etc. These differences, I am convinced, are sharper than what has shown up in public.

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MEMBERS OF THE CPSU, SEPTEMBER, 1966

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On international matters, I get the feeling that there is a lack of feeling that this is "one movement." It seems that many hold the opinion "if you don't step on my toes," the problem is not "my" concern. I believe that the international spirit will grow.

On the lack of information in the international movement as it relates to internationalism, we are at the mercy of the bourgeois press. One crucial question is finding means of transmission of public information about struggles and political events. To do this, our movement needs a new world news service. It should be staffed with political commentators and professionals and operate in a modern fashion. Maybe a meeting of editors of Communist Party papers could be held to discuss this matter. While some might disagree with such an idea, I believe a majority would see some usefulness in it. The "World Marxist Review" has agreed to this idea and I believe that the magazine would also improve as a result.

Now, on the question of youth work. This, for us, has become an acute problem. The youth represent a generation living in a period of danger of nuclear war and existence of two world systems. I feel that it would be good to hold a world conference for the purpose of exchanging experiences about youth. Such a conference could help in determining what could be done. It is realized that the problems of youth in socialist countries would be quite different than ours, but it might also be good that the youth from such countries participate.

On our own movement in the United States. It is small. A Party the size of ours cannot take advantage of all of the new situations. We lost a generation of cadre but now have a new layer of cadre developing. But this new cadre lacks experience and cadre training is being done on an emergency basis. Yet, I must say we are getting good results. Our Party is united even though there has been some weaknesses in past cadre. Every once in awhile we need to fight out some basic issues.

In response to your inquiry concerning the current economic situation in the United States, our economy in the United States is now a war boom economy. Yet, there are

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restrictions on investments in order to avoid more overproduction. There is over-capacity in the country despite the war. President Johnson is moving to control the economic situation. Recently, he removed the seven percent tax exemption for capital investments. There have been some cutbacks in industry. The present starts in the housing industry are the lowest in six years. As a result of the war boom, we may have some serious dislocation in industry. It is also true that it will not take big cutbacks in industry to cause a crisis in unemployment. At the present time the percentage of unemployed Negroes is high and next in order comes the unemployed steel workers. In steel, oxygen converters have caused numerous layoffs. Steel workers at their last convention adopted United Steel Workers Union President Abel's slogan, "get ready for battle."

Brezhnev then commenced speaking and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

Thank you very much for your broad, informative report. We wish to express our satisfaction with your Party's work. Particularly, as it works during these sharp moments of the war in Vietnam. I am talking to you in this way because I know that you have met with and become familiar with our Party organizations in the Provinces.

Today, our Party has twelve and a half million members. We are united and have no internal Party problems. Our Party is being educated in the spirit of internationalism and unity of the world movement. We know the liberation struggles and support them. The CPSU correctly understands the world struggles and renders support, both material and otherwise. Our Party members are engaged in carrying out the decisions of our XXIII Congress. Our ties to the people have become close. The membership reports that since the XXIII Congress, they have been better received by the masses. Internally, the life of the Party is much better. We held a May meeting of our Central Committee after the XXIII Congress, and before the end of this year we will hold another plenum. There is now a rule in the Party that we hold CP conferences in the Republics, Regions, etc. The leadership has the responsibility of reporting to the membership. Today, there are no problems in this respect.

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At the last meeting of the Central Committee, we discussed the major problem--how to build a communist society.

Our Party is a ruling Party. It has all the power but at the same time also has the responsibility for carrying out all policies, both domestic and international. The Political Bureau has a big responsibility, particularly as it relates to agriculture and development of industry.

You know about the differences and complexities of our agriculture. Our assets are that the rural areas are socialist. We have a broad variety of climates and soils in our country. We previously forced the growth of industry but did not take similar proportionate action in agriculture. This is why we are now looking for solutions in agriculture. In an economic sense we need to make farming profitable and then introduce material incentives for our people who are engaged in agriculture. The problem of raising productivity in the field of agriculture is in part also related to the use of chemicals, insecticides, etc. In industry we are developing and there has been a fast growth, particularly in non-ferrous metals, chemical, oil refining, etc. However, we had to avoid too much emphasis on one phase rather than another. To increase production, we felt it was necessary to find ways of giving material incentives and establishing correct wage policies in certain sections of industry. There is no unemployment in the USSR, yet, we do not consider the transfer of workers from one industry to another as being undesirable.

We are trying to speed up the rise in our national income. It is necessary to raise this in order to increase the material and cultural standards of our people. And we can say that we have had some success. The Statistical Board's recent publications, which are no longer secret, contain facts relating to everything in our economy except the military industry. These will reflect a constant upward trend.

It is necessary to tell the full truth and note that for three years we did have difficulties in agriculture. This was not only because of bad weather but also due to some

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mistakes on our part. Today, there have been noticeable changes. There is stability and guarantees for the future of those engaged in agriculture. This helped us to increase and stabilize foodstuffs for our country. Now, in all parts of the country, including rural areas, a variety of breads, sugar, butter, animal fats, etc., are available in quantity and we have big reserves and even an over-supply, for example, in butter. In this latter regard, in the last quarter, the trade could not sell 250,000 tons of butter. There is a similar over-supply in regard to vegetable and sunflower oil. The market price, that is the price on the open market established by competing with state stores, for goods in some shops is lower than the price set by the state. Maybe these things are not important to you in the United States but we had real difficulties for three years. But in two years now, we have made great changes. This change is reflected in a different attitude on the part of agricultural workers to labor.

We will solve the problem of surplus and are already working on it. This year, besides the measures we took to improve agriculture, the weather helped us and we have had good crops. This has enabled us to complete our plans of purchase of grain, etc., abroad. We do not yet have the published figures on grain production as they are not completed but we believe it will be around four and a half billion poods (36.113 pounds) of grain that will be harvested. Such a harvest is unprecedented in our fifty years we have been in power. All this grain was bought by the state. The cotton crop was excellent also and there has been a big increase there. We will have some to export. We also this year had large crops and maintain big reserves in sugar and in food oil.

From month to month, without pressure, we are increasing in husbandry. Cattle, sheep, hogs, and chicken production is going according to plan and there is no lagging in any of these fields.

In order to overcome the differences of climatic conditions in our country, we at the May plenum adopted plans for irrigation, drainage, etc. This has resulted in the improving of the land for agricultural purposes. For this year, alone, we have allocated 15 billion rubles to this. The peasants have taken great interest in the things we are doing. If the situation does not change and there are no

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1 pood = 36.113 lbs.

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unexpected international events, our agriculture will develop and grow according to our plans.

In regard to recent developments on social matters. There has been continued democratization of collective farms. There has been an introduction of pensions for the aged and the disabled. Privileges are now given to the farmers that the workers already have. This has improved the mood of the peasantry and we are getting millions of letters of thanks from the peasantry.

As to industry, just some brief comments on some major problems. Because of the rapid growth, we have achieved a tremendous level of capital investments in industry. We need to supply all this new industry and this is why the smallest lagging behind even in one industry, for example, electrical, has its effects. Because of this tremendous growth, we always have problems. This growth means we need new scientific centers, cadre, etc. We have to be alert to science and technology in other countries. At the same time, we must train engineers and skilled workers for these new industries.

Every year we discover new ore, gas and oil deposits. We can be independent for a hundred years. We have a large reserve of precious metals. At the same time, we have yet not touched our main forest resources like tayga in Siberia or have we touched our vast ocean of oil in Western Siberia. We invest two million rubles and get a million barrels of oil.

To build our industry, the idea came up to place the new plants near the raw materials. As a result, there are new cities where the raw materials are located. This has created problems because it was necessary then to build apartments, schools, airports, trollies, railways, stadiums, etc. This is just another of our problems.

Another important problem has been creating the incentive for greater production and quality. Gradually, we started to shift work to a five-day week. This again created its own problems as to how to use equipment which is idle on these days in the interest of society and yet at the same time provide the worker with two days' rest.

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You know our figures for our five-year plan. These will not be so easy to achieve. We will only mention two. It seems we produced many trucks and cars but yet we feel we are not producing enough for our minimum needs. We plan to double production of cars and trucks in the next five years. We also intend to double tractor production.

We have spent a lot of money on science. We are setting up all kinds of scientific institutions. We may be lagging behind the United States in some spheres but this may be due to differences in our social systems.

Our population increases by three million people each year yet everybody has learned to eat white bread as well as black bread. Only the Soviet Union, the United States, Canada, Australia, produce a substantial surplus of grains but all the world wants to eat. This is why the problem of increased production in agriculture is so important.

Everyone seems to want to talk about a crisis in our cultural life among the intelligentsia. This is being magnified and is not a big problem.

On the national question, we have no problem. There is no rivalry between the Balts, the Ukrainians, etc., or is there anti-Semitism. In the West they may "invent" problems. I hope you will not be offended by this if I raise with you the question of the "Jewish problem." I see your Party intends to have a conference in the United States on anti-Semitism. Let me warn you that the enemy will use it to magnify the problem and will use it against us. But you have to decide on this.

Now, about the international situation. We have had to spend a lot of money for defense. This is being dictated by the international situation. Our stand in regard to disarmament in the world is well known and we believe our position on this subject has helped the CPs throughout the world. We would like to cut armaments if we could.

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Our international situation is stable. We can characterize our international policy as proletarian internationalism based on Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Lenin. We do not change our general policies. We change only tactical methods. We are for peaceful coexistence. We are for peace. We are for the independence of all people. We support the working class against imperialism and reaction. Our position on these matters influences humanity and progress. We are for non-interference in the affairs of other countries. We do not wage war but the United States does. We express opinions and points of view but do not interfere by military means. If we take into account the other socialist countries and our social structure, we can see that we are in a good position in the world.

In regard to China. We have not lost our friends in the world except China. We trade with other countries and this trade is growing. There is no discrimination in our trade. We give aid to all countries fighting for their independence. We make peace appeals; for example, in the China-India border dispute, the Pakistan-India conflict, and in a number of other actions of this type.

We go to all countries when we are invited and we have no lack of visitors here; in fact, at times we must turn some away as we have too many. Of course, this does not apply to CP visitors. We are constantly being invited to visit many countries; for example, Pakistan, Egypt, Algeria, India, and this year we will go to France.

While our situation is good, we realize that the international situation is becoming more complicated and is fraught with danger. This is evident--that the United States policy is more aggressive on a world scale and gendarme like. This is shown by United States aggressions in Vietnam, Cuba, Dominican Republic, and intrigues in some of the African countries. All of these things expose the aggressive nature of United States imperialism. Today, more and more people are interested in world politics, so more people in the world see the aggressive nature of United States imperialism.

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These actions by United States imperialism create tensions. Yet, there are certain countries who are not afraid of the course being pursued by the United States. The United States knows which countries are not afraid even though their people do not want to die.

We watch the developments in the United States and the course of its policies. We have no economic ties with the United States and practically no trade. We dispatch notes of protest to each other. We attack aggressive actions of the United States.

*Indonesia
withdraw
in UN?*

Recent events in the world have made the international situation more complicated. For example, Indonesia's withdrawal from the United Nations, the death of Nehru and Shastri of India. Nehru's position on non-alignment was very important. Of course, the position of China has also complicated the world situation. In our opinion, the first task of international politics today is to bring an end to the war in Vietnam. After that, we must seek to achieve guarantees for European security. Then, we must continue our tireless struggles against the West German militarists and their securing of nuclear weapons in any form. Finally, we must reach some agreement on the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

As of this time, the United States is the aggressor in Vietnam and there is danger of the war being enlarged to involve all of Indo-China. No one knows the plans of Johnson and the Pentagon, so how can we guarantee that smaller incidents will not lead to a world war. It has been said that great inventors at the end of their lives know there are still greater discoveries to be made.

Johnson could set off the war, but he also has the means to control or prevent it from developing. If the war stops, there will be no further enlargement.

We have our position on the war in Vietnam. We will continue to help. Our aid costs us a lot, despite the Chinese slanders.

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In the sphere of the international communist movement, we are paying special attention to all means available for solidifying the unity of all socialist countries. Friendship is growing between all European socialist countries with the exception of Albania. The Bucharest resolution is an example of this and reflects the aim of building a united front of the socialist countries against United States aggression in Vietnam.

Many Parties, France, Italy, for example, are working but have not yet achieved a mobilization on a broad political front against the war in Vietnam.

We are trying to improve the situation in the world movement. We are doing many things. Recently, there was a Bucharest meeting, the Warsaw meeting, etc. In our own Party we are active and our trade unions and the Young Communist League (YCL) are all working against aggression.

Many of the difficulties in the international organization today are due to the Chinese position. You know all about this and know how the Chinese break up meetings, etc. We are still unable to organize a meeting of all socialist countries on Vietnam.

We sent out the CP, USA proposal concerning the possible boycott of United States goods as a means of mobilizing the world against United States aggression in Vietnam. But some Parties objected to this proposal. Maybe you can raise these problems when you are in those countries. I raised the question of an international meeting with Waldeck Rochet, General Secretary of the CP of France, and with Luigi Longo, General Secretary of the CP of Italy, on the matter of Vietnam. We will continue our efforts in this regard.

The United States Administration has been showing interest in re-establishing contact with us. Secretary of State Rusk and President Johnson both wanted to meet with Gromyko when he was in the United States. If the United States would accept the conditions laid down at Bucharest in regard to Vietnam, there may be a chance of our getting together.

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At this time, China's policy hinders our common effort in support of Vietnam and helps the United States aggressive position. The recent policy of China has been to try to influence events in Indonesia, in other countries of Asia, in Africa, and even to interfere in Cuba. These policies as uttered by CP of China leaders Chen Yi and Liu Shao-shi ended in failure. In Indonesia, it resulted in the defeat of the CP there. The CP of China policy, reflected by the Sino-India border conflict, was not supported by anyone. Their position on the India-Pakistan conflict was also contrary to world opinion. All of their foreign policy has ended in either deadlock or defeat.

The economic policies in China are a complete failure. All their leaps and communes accomplished was to throw their economy back to the year of 1958. These are their figures, not mine.

All of this affected the situation in China. We have no contact with the Central Committee, CP of China. We only have a sketchy picture of the Central Committee. In China an internal political crisis is taking place. In 1960, the Chinese were actively putting forward four points, then twenty points, then forty points, on the banning of nuclear weapons and other world issues. Now, they are silent. During the past period, there was the impression held by some that if the CPSU reached an agreement with the CP of China, everything would be all right. Some also felt that the situation between the CP of China and the CPSU was due to some "bad things" done by the CPSU. Now, everyone sees that it was not merely a question between us and China. How they used to shout about "great power chauvinism." But, today, things are much clearer and people understand. The Chinese would not mind unleashing a war but others would have to carry out the fight. The Chinese work day and night to stir up conflicts between the Parties. They are crude and vulgar.

I believe that the CP of China has not only taken an anti-Soviet line but is departing from the international communist movement. The Chinese cultural revolution will further, and has already, isolate China. Those who have

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illusions should now commence to think of means to fight this dangerous development. First, we should try to help China in a comradely way. This is because the very fact that Mao Tse-tung, Chairman, Central Committee, CP of China, has not found the support in the CP of China and depends on his Army and Red Guards. This shows that he is surpressing the Party. The YCL has been disbanded there and many of the Party's leading cadres are being pushed away everyday. The very idea--the content and form--of the "cultural revolution" is disgraceful. It is like the black shirts or brown shirts of World War II.

We have not yet discussed in our Political Bureau the point which I am raising now. I believe we should try and look for a way of holding a new world meeting of the Parties. The last time we tried to get together was in March, 1966. At that time the Parties said let us wait, you try "bilateral meetings." It was their feeling that the CPSU and the CP of China would get together and it was the position of some that we could not meet without the Chinese. But it is clear now that the CP of China has departed from Marxism-Leninism. I believe we should talk it over and call an international conference even without the Chinese.

For two years now we have been patient. We have made official suggestions but the Chinese did not want to meet us. We cannot continue to wait forever but we will wait long enough to see development of events in China. Maybe this campaign in China will die like the campaign against the sparrows, the big leaps, etc.

We agree with you that the CPs should think about everyone's interests, not only their own. Suppose, for example, 70 Parties gather for an international meeting and not 98. So what. In 1960, 81 Parties gathered. At our XXIII Congress, 78 fraternal Parties came and at the CP of Czechoslovakia Congress, 82 Parties came. On both of these occasions, the Parties brought forward ideas for peace, independence of nations, etc. So, you see, at two different Party Congresses we got together. We feel we should take another look and determine if an international meeting is possible.

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In regard to Vietnam, the Chinese have placed us in such a position where we are, in effect, practically the tail behind their policies. We cannot be a prisoner of the Chinese.

These thoughts regarding a conference are not as yet a mature idea.

In discussions with the leaders of other socialist countries, as well as some other Parties in Europe, the question was raised concerning a European conference. Rocket met with W. Gromulka, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, on this point recently.

In general, the CPSU and in particular our Central Committee praises the activities of the CP, USA. We understand the conditions under which you have worked for years and it was pleasant to hear about your convention. We are glad that you are getting new forces and new cadre.

You and us are in complete agreement on all basic questions. You are not working in vain.

Your proposals look all right. We are looking into your opinions about more flexible means of struggle against United States imperialism. We do not put into the center "political means" but we do agree with you. The Vietnamese situation is being pressed by the Chinese. We cannot allow Johnson to carry a "banner of peace" while he bombs and kills in Vietnam. We must use both political and military tactics. We agree with your proposals and will place them before the other socialist countries. In October we will meet with all of these countries.

This concluded Brezhnev's remarks, and Hall then responded: On an international conference. The thoughts expressed by Comrade Brezhnev are our thoughts. At some point the world movement will have to see to it that the more backward will not dictate that there shall not be a meeting of the CPs.

I want to express gratitude for all expressions of solidarity which I have seen. I value our relations and have

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been proud of this for many years. For a Party such as ours in the United States, which is in the arsenal and ideological center of imperialism, internationalism is most important. We can't afford to let down the bars in our struggle for internationalism. There is a strong nationalist ideology in the United States and we must fight it daily.

Again, I wish to thank you.

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~~REC-25~~
ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/20/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

R.N. Smith
JRM
S. R. (LAST)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND YUMZAHAGIN TSEDENBAL, FIRST SECRETARY, MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, ULAN BATOR, MONGOLIA, OCTOBER, 1966."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished during the period of 10/8-13/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, and thus adversely affecting the national security.

- 1-294 940 with 1 encl.
1-2924 940 with 1 encl.
③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
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6 OCT 20 1966

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Approved: _____

65 NOV 7 1966 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

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Per _____

CG 134-46 Sub B

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C.

In regard to the information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum concerning the meeting of 10/1/66, this meeting was held at the Central Committee headquarters of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. HALL had arrived in Ulan Bator, Mongolia, on 9/30/66 and at that time HALL was advised of the scheduled meeting noted in the enclosed letterhead memorandum.

In addition to those individuals identified in the enclosed letterhead memorandum as having been present at this meeting were ARNOLD JOHNSON, a member of the National Board and Public Relations Director, CP, USA, and CG 5824-S*.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.

OCT 20 1966

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DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY,
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND YUMZAHAGIN TSEDENBAL,
FIRST SECRETARY, MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY
PARTY, ULAN BATOR, MONGOLIA, OCTOBER, 1966

During October, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

Mongolia

While undertaking a tour of the socialist countries during late Summer and early Fall of 1966, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), traveled to Ulan Bator, Mongolian People's Republic, during October, 1966. At this time, he met and carried out discussions with Yumzahagin Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). Such discussions occurred on October 1, 1966, between Hall and Tsedenbal. Also present during these particular discussions, although not actively participating in them, were the following leading representatives of the MPRP: Demchigin Molomiamts, a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee; T. Dugersuren, a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee; S. Lubsan, a member of the Political Bureau and First Deputy Chairman of the State Council of Ministers; N. Khagvaral, a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee; D. Maidar, a member of the Political Bureau and Deputy Chairman of the State Council of Ministers; B. Lubsanraydan, a candidate member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the MPRP Control Committee; P. Shagdarsuren, a member of the Central Committee

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100-428091-5839
ENCLOSURE

DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
SECRETARY, CPUSA, AND YUMZAHAGIN
TSEDENBAL, FIRST SECRETARY, MPRP,
ULAN BATOR, MONGOLIA, OCTOBER, 1966

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and Head of the International Department, Central Committee;
and (first name unknown) Tolvo, a member of the Central Com-
mittee and First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The discussions which occurred at this time were
opened by Tsedenbal, and the essence of his remarks was as
follows:

The film which you have seen only gave you a rudi-
mentary idea about Mongolia. So, here, we will give you some
more brief details. In order to understand our country, you
need to know the state of its development at the time of our
revolution in 1921.

At that time, there was no industry at all to speak
of. There was just a bit of gold mining and an American
corporation which had set itself up in business some 300 miles
from Ulan Bator. There was only one power station in all of
Mongolia. The main occupation of the people at that time was
animal husbandry. While China, itself, was a colony, we were
a colony of China, and the Chinese traders dominated our
economic life.

Also, at that time, the Lamas made up forty to fifty
percent of our total population and were defenders of the
Chinese-Manchu policies. These monks were not supposed to
marry which, in effect, resulted in decreasing the Mongolian
population. This is what the Chinese wanted. At age 8 a boy
was expected to go into the monastery and thereafter he per-
formed no useful occupation. Each family was expected to have
at least one Lama representing it. If it was a big family,
then they would be represented by more than one Lama. If a
family had only girls, they had to adopt a son for Lama train-
ing. Thus, it turned out that only approximately fifty percent
of the population worked. In such a situation it was extremely
difficult for our country to develop. The people were stunned
into prayers and passivity. The Lamas led the people and controled
their activities. When they desired to move to another place,

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SECRETARY, CPUSA, AND YUMZAHAGIN
TSEDENBAL, FIRST SECRETARY, MPRP,
ULAN BATOR, MONGOLIA, OCTOBER, 1966

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they had to secure the Lama's permission. To slaughter cattle, they had to ask the Lama for his permission. If someone became ill, no doctor could be secured without the authority of the Lama. Finally, twenty years after the revolution, we had to get rid of the Lamas and remove their control over the people in order to make progress. This was because the people believed them and would not even send their children to school.

At the time of the revolution, there was one school in the entire country. When we sought to establish more schools and hospitals, the Lamas opposed us, both the Party and the Government. Similarly, the Lamas opposed the development of agriculture and even engaged in armed uprising against the Government.

In order to build, we had to recruit our army from the other fifty percent of the population. By doing this, we succeeded in establishing the Government and conducted a struggle to defeat the Lamas. However, at the same time, half our country was occupied by the Japanese and the Kuomintang and the Lamas got support from both of them. There were 120,000 Lamas who did nothing although they had to be fed and at the same time opposed the Government. In Ulan Bator, for example, in 1938, there were 10,000 Lamas out of a total population of 40,000.

This situation, I just explained, delayed our build-up and progress. The Manchu policy was to exterminate the Mongolians without the use of arms. So this is the picture of our country at that time--no industry, no schools, no medicine, etc.

So, we had to start a new economy and a new culture at the same time. However, we had to defend our country from imperialist invasion by Japan.

Today, however, the situation is entirely different. We have developed from a feudal state to one of socialism. But we do lag behind some of the other socialist countries. All of our achievements have been made with the help of the other socialist countries, particularly with the help of the Soviet Union. Of all investments today in Mongolia, one-third have come from the socialist countries, mainly the USSR. We have received both loans and factories from the USSR.

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GUS HALL, GENERAL
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~~TOP SECRET~~

9 We have a new five-year plan which runs for the period 1966-70. During this period, the German Democratic Republic will loan 40 million tugrik to us and Poland will loan 15 million tugrik to us.

We now have in operation 288 cooperatives in agriculture and 30 state farms in operation. In conjunction with this, we maintain 38 machine and cattle-raising stations. These stations help the cooperatives and state farms. Most of the main work on the state farms and cooperatives is performed by machine. The average state farm plants approximately 1,500 hectares of wheat. We do not use any fertilizer.

The total head of livestock in the country today numbers approximately 23,800,000. This includes 800,000 head of cattle, 2,400,000 horses, 13,800,000 sheep, and 5,000,000 goats. On an average there are 22 head of livestock for every member of our population in the country. We now have 1,200,000 people in Mongolia, compared with 600,000 people in Mongolia at the time of the revolution. The birth rate is 43 per thousand people and the death rate is 10 per thousand people.

The average collective farm has 63,000 head of livestock. Most important in the terms of our animal husbandry is water and fodder, although the water supply overall is not bad. In recent years we have begun the digging of wells with machinery. We also would have some fodder in reserve but in main we use pastureland for the grazing of livestock. All machinery on the cooperatives and state farms as well as the animals there are owned by the state.

In general, our industry is related to animal husbandry and agriculture. We also have some coal mining and produce non-ferrous metals. We have established woodworking, building construction material, and metalworking industries as well as electrical power stations. Our main problem is the question of manpower in all branches of our economy. In the future we intend to build light industry on a greater scale.

One note on our agriculture. When we first won the people in the northern part of the country, we allowed each

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family to retain 50 head of livestock for personal use. In the south we allowed the people to retain 75 head of livestock for their personal use. Today, the main profits for the farmer come from working with the cooperatives.

The difference between us and the other socialist countries is that we did not, in most cases, confiscate the property of the rich.

In the field of culture, we have had a "real" cultural revolution, not like what is now going on in China. In Mongolia, all children now go to school and by 1975 they will be receiving eight years of schooling. We now do have higher institutions of learning in the fields of medicine, teaching, agriculture, construction engineering, and electrical engineering. Party higher school is maintained as well as two evening Party schools. One person out of six is now studying. For technical training, we send people to the Soviet Union and to other socialist countries.

In regard to medical facilities, we now have one doctor for every 700 people. The number of doctors is increasing year by year.

Manpower has been our problem and this is why we import labor from China. There were 12,000 Chinese workers here together with their families which made an overall total of 30,000 Chinese living in our country. The Chinese put pressures upon us and told us that if we support their policies, they would give us laborers. We said no. So they pulled out their people in 1964. This is the reason why our construction work stopped. We then asked the Soviet Union to supply us with construction laborers. They agreed to send us building and construction specialists. In addition, they agreed to send 6,000 military instructors plus 2,000 Soviet metal and steel specialists. The German Democratic Republic also has sent us 500 specialists. In addition, Bulgaria has sent us 200 specialists, Hungary has sent us 60 specialists, and there are 40 specialists from Czechoslovakia and 30 specialists from Poland. These are mainly engineers and our Mongolian people work with them and are learning. We do, however, have about 4,000 Chinese workers still in Mongolia on the basis of some

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old agreements. When their projects are finished, they will leave for home. The Chinese say "we need the manpower in our construction." We do not believe this.

We have great need for skilled workers. At our XV Party Congress we approved a program to speed up the building of socialism. In our opinion, we believe this will require three five-year plans. Such programs would take us up to 1980. The first five-year plan was approved by our last Congress. At this time, our country is an agricultural-industrial nation but when we complete our plans, it will be an industrial and agricultural nation.

In regard to our Party organization, we have 49,233 Party members of which twenty percent are women. Thirty percent of the total are workers and twenty-one percent are members of cooperatives. The remaining forty-nine percent of our membership consists of office workers and intelligentsia.

In regard to the Young Revolutionary League, they have 77,000 members. In the trade unions there are 153,000 members.

Our country, since the revolution, has always been with the Soviet Union. This was true during the war and is so now. We are lined up with the Soviet Union. We are also friends with other socialist countries. Our relations with the CP of the Soviet Union and other Parties in the socialist countries are very good. Today, the Moscow Declaration of 1957 and the Moscow Statement of 1960 constitute our line. We are developing relations with Parties in the capitalist countries and are happy to note that such relationships are being strengthened. The recent visit of Carl Winter of the CP, USA to Mongolia followed by CP, USA fraternal delegate James West's attendance at our Congress has helped a lot to cement the relations between the MPRP and the CP, USA. Your arrival, Comrade Hall, here in Mongolia is considered a very important event in the relationship between our two Parties.

Now, I would like to give a few words on our relations with China. The volume of trade between China and Mongolia has decreased seven times as compared with the volume

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in 1960. Trade now is inactive. One train a day passes through Mongolia which can handle twenty carloads of material. Because of this, we have lost much of our foreign exchange which used to be big. Though we profit less on the rail traffic, our railroad is in as good a condition as before. China still owes us a balance of ten million rubles for which we sought construction work from them but they did not do it. We suggested to China that they build us two new bridges destroyed by a recent flood. We have had no answer from them up to now. However, the other socialist countries gave us help during the flood. The Soviet Union built us two railroad bridges and will build us highway bridges and render us other help.

Chinese radio located in places like Peking, Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, and Sinkiang Province transmit a lot of propaganda broadcasts into Mongolia. The Chinese also print matter in the Mongolian language and deliver it by mail from Peking. The Chinese also use our broadcast wave length since they, the Chinese, do not participate in international radio agreements. The Chinese do this same thing to other countries. Recently, they slandered us and said the Mongolian workers are supporting the cultural revolution in China. In fact, they claimed one teacher and a worker had said that "Mao Tse-tung was a great leader." They also claimed that another had said that "Mao was a Lenin of today." These are all false and the Chinese do not give any names of these people. Our people know the situation.

We are against the war in Vietnam and support the CP, USA in its efforts against United States aggression in Vietnam. We are giving the Vietnamese people our humble help. To date, we have given Vietnam 100,000 sheep free of which 10,000 are already there. Last year we gave them 15,000 suits of clothing and thousands of pairs of canvas women's shoes. We have offered to supply them with tents and huts, but Chinese railroads cannot handle them. The Chinese say their facilities are too narrow but they really do not want to transport them. We permit all railroad traffic in transit to Vietnam to go through our country over our railroads free of charge.

We favor the stopping of United States aggression in Vietnam but also favor negotiations over the problems there.

At their last plenum, the CP of China officially endorsed the splitting of the international communist movement.

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We believe that under the present set of circumstances, it would be good to meet other Parties and consult with each other. We, both the MPRP and the CP, USA, believe in Marxism-Leninism and our relationships are developing. At the last meeting of the 19 Parties held March, 1965, in Moscow, our views coincided with the other Parties'.

The CP, USA works in the stronghold of imperialism and is waging a good struggle under these conditions. Our Party members and the working people in our country are interested in your Party's struggle in the United States.

We listened to Comrade Winter and to CP, USA delegate James West at our Party Congress. Even in our countryside they believe the CP, USA statement that our convention was good. Comrade West said that Mongolia had made speedier progress under its conditions than the United States had made under capitalism.

Our Party is interested in the CP, USA and in the United States. As to the establishment of relations between our two countries, we are ready. We started to discuss this topic in 1961 but the tensions of the Berlin Wall interrupted them. We now do have relations with Great Britain and France and are now ready to establish official relations with Japan.

This is all I wanted to say in brief.

Hall then spoke briefly, and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

I would like to express an opinion now in regard to the establishment of state relations between Mongolia and the United States. I believe that there is a group in the United States who wants to establish such relations; however, not all want to because the capitalist class is divided. The monopolies are also divided on this and on many other questions. Today, the big question in the United States is what attitude should the United States take toward the new force in the world, that is, socialism. One sector of capital is for hard, tough relations--aggression. The other sector of capital is coming out for some type of accommodations between capitalism and socialism. I believe that despite the aggression in Vietnam, the dominant thought in the United States is for relations with the socialist countries. This is the same sector that is pushing for "negotiations in Vietnam."

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I believe it would be good for Mongolia to establish such relations even if these countries are imperialists. Great Britain, France, United States do undoubtedly desire these relations in order to push for their own aims. It would be good to have such relations. You could buy in the United States and Mongolia could sell and this would mean trade. If I were in the leadership, I would pursue this matter actively. I do take Vietnam into consideration, but I think the United States will be forced to retreat in Vietnam.

The world movement should not permit the Chinese to hold back relations. While the Chinese slander, they do pursue relations with the United States and others.

Tsedenbal then responded and noted as follows: Of course we agree that the United States, if and when they do establish relations, would do so for its own reasons and self-interest. We know the United States wants to use Mongolia to watch China and also to watch USSR developments. However, on the basis of no discrimination, we would consider the establishment of state relations. In fact, we have shown an interest but Vietnam is a stumbling block. We want United States goods and tourists but whether we get them will depend on the basis of our agreements.

Hall at this point interjected, "Lenin said take from the capitalist countries what is useful and apply it to your own uses."

Tsedenbal's comments then continued: The United States is the most highly developed of all capitalist countries in the world and we could use their techniques.

Another word about China. The Chinese refused our invitation to attend the XV Congress of the MPRP. They sent us a reply in answer to our invitation in which they called us revisionists and said we were following the Soviet revisionists, etc.

We considered the 18th Congress of the CP, USA as a big event and a victory for you. We thank you for your invitation to attend the CP, USA convention, but the State Department did not let us in. We had asked for a visa for our correspondent in Prague but the United States did not even want a correspondent of ours to come into the United States. They talk of freedom of the press.

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Hall responded with the following remarks: On the matter of the international movement. We talked to the "World Marxist Review" on this and I pointed out that we were against a policy of drifting. Since I left the United States, the "cultural revolution" in China has developed and this is certainly clearing certain questions up. The world Marxist-Leninist movement cannot wait forever before getting together and it cannot wait until China attends. If we wait, we allow the most backward parties to dictate policies. We must probe for new methods in bringing our world movement together.

In the same connection, I would like to propose for your consideration a suggestion dealing with the establishment of a world press service which would serve the CPs of all countries.

In reply, Tsedenbal noted as follows: Your proposal for a world press service would be very important for the world communist movement. I believe our people would be interested. Now, they know very little about what is going on throughout the world. Yet, they should know specific conditions of the struggles in each country. The major question is how can the Parties best communicate with each other. The workers in the capitalist countries should know what is happening in the socialist countries. It is also important that the communists in all countries should know more about each other. I also agree that we should not drift but pursue an active policy for unity.

We listened to your message at the XXIII Congress, CP of the Soviet Union, in which you called for unity. You really emphasized the need for unity and this letter when it was read made a great impression upon us.

Hall then remarked: We in the United States work in the eye of the imperialist hurricane. That is why we give more attention to the question of unity. Unity is the key for us in all mass movements. We draw strength from other Parties and proletarian internationalism is more than mere words, it is an indispensable weapon in our struggle. The Chinese destroyed this weapon of struggle against imperialism.

The information you have given us about the situation in Mongolia, that for example about the Lamas, is very important. I am sure that you pursued an active policy to defeat the Lamas but our Polish comrades still have this problem of the Catholic Church.

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Tsedenbal, in response to Hall's latter statement, remarked: We understand the problem that the Polish comrades face. We think constantly about the need for unity everyday. We deal with this problem everyday. We need manpower and our construction has slowed down. If the Chinese leaders had not acted as they did and if they were internationally minded, we would be building today instead of waiting.

At this point, Hall inquired of Tsedenbal as to Mongolia and its relations to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) to which Tsedenbal stated we sit on a number of commissions but do not belong to the organization. We do get credits from their banks and coordinate our plans and learn from them.

At this point, Tsedenbal thanked Hall for having come to visit Mongolia and concluded with the following comments: Many thanks for your report and our appreciation for your brave struggles. We have learned a lot.

At this point the meeting concluded.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 10/24/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

Re Chicago airtel 5/2/66, with enclosed Letterhead Memorandum captioned "Current Status of CPSU Leadership, April 1966."

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the Chicago Office one copy of a Letterhead Memorandum entitled, "Current Status of Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leadership, October 1966."

The information in the enclosed Letterhead Memorandum was furnished on 10/16-18/66 to SAS RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed Letterhead Memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

The enclosed Letterhead Memorandum has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably

1-904 940 with 1 encl. *ENCLOSURE*
 3-Bureau (100-428091) (Encls. 4) (RM)
 1-Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (Encl. 1) (AM RM)
 1-New York (100-134637)

WAB:eac
 (6)

OCT 26 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

NOV 2 1966

NY 100-134637

result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international Communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

CG 5824-S* advised that when he arrived in Moscow, he discussed the situation in the CPSU leadership with the following individuals:

TIMUR TIMOFEEV - Director of the Institute for World Labor Relations, and the son of the deceased former General Secretary of the CPUSA, EUGENE DENNIS;

NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS - Head of the North and South American Section, International Department, CC, CPSU;

A.S. BELYAKOV - First Deputy to BORIS N. PONOMAREV, a Secretary of the CC and Head of the International Department, CC, CPSU.

CG 5824-S* asked these individuals whether his interpretation of these developments and his observations at the XXIII Congress of the CPSU reported by re airtel and Letterhead Memorandum were correct. The above individuals confirmed his interpretations as set forth therein.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.
October 24, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

Current Status of Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
Leadership, October, 1966

During October, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During September and October, 1966, a number of leading individuals in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) expressed some opinions concerning the current status of the leadership of the CPSU. According to these individuals, at the time of the XXIII Congress of the CPSU there had been a sharp struggle which involved the top leadership of the CPSU, with the group led by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU apparently the winner, although whether his group could retain their position depended on the success or failure of the economic and agricultural policies of that leadership.

Subsequent to the XXIII Congress, the struggle continued until the Brezhnev group finally asserted full authority. As a result, the more militant Soviet leaders such as those advocating a return to the hard line reminiscent of Stalin lost their influence. Thus there were "put in their place" such leaders as Aleksandr N. Shelepin, member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee CPSU; and Vladimir Semichastny, Chairman of the Committee of State Security (KGB). These are now involved in collective work and pose no challenge to the elected Brezhnev leadership.

This document contains neither
recommendations nor conclusions
of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your
agency; it and its contents are
not to be distributed outside
your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

GROUP 1
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downgrading and
declassification

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100-428091-5840

~~TOP SECRET~~

Current Status of Communist
Party of the Soviet Union
Leadership, October, 1966

Moreover, Brezhnev is not only the number one leader by title only; he has assumed leadership within his own group and without question is in solid control as the supreme authority in the USSR. Even in governmental matters Brezhnev, as acknowledged leader of the CPSU, exceeds in authority the position of Aleksei N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Second to Brezhnev in the political sense is Mikhail A. Suslov, member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee CPSU. However, the qualification that much depends on the success or failure of the economic and agricultural policy of the current leadership as laid down in the current Five-Year Plan remains applicable. But with current bumper yields in some crops and surpluses in others, Brezhnev now asserts that the economic situation is improving rapidly, is very optimistic and feels quite secure.

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *June*

DATE: October 25, 1966

FROM : *C. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

5- Shfaw

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 10/25/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 253 GR 57, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

pb
ENCLOSURE

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

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6 OCT 28 1966

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10/25/66

NR 253 GR 57

10/25/66

30725 26860 46070 85537 66126 69547 50940 41001 00707 03004
40599 07826 09848 25916 89480 11413 11053 95644 13693 53057
12817 06054 12299 90550 95628 67042 72143 90206 38034 33231
77809 52986 56605 23934 63193 88497 98344 74376 76366 04036
38548 74845 02666 63017 96010 81373 03020 63642 19827 27968
50691 46444 48637 73831 19352 03765 76974

NR 253 GR 57

10/25/66

NEXT MONTH WE SHALL USE THE FOLLOWING FREQUENCIES: FIRST DAY
-#12272#-#14459#-#16126#-SECOND DAY-#12391#-#13912#
-#15637#-ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT OF THIS CABLE AS USUAL

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5846